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THE WOODSTOCK LETTERS

VOL. LXXX, No. 4 NOVEMBER, 1951

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For Jesuit Use Only

Published four times a year, in February, May, July and November.

Entered as second-class matter December 1, 1942, at the post office at Woodstock, Maryland, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Subscription: Three Dollars Yearly

WOODSTOCK COLLEGE PRESS
WOODSTOCK, MARYLAND

A LETTER OF VERY REV. FATHER GENERAL ON THE ENCYCLICAL "HUMANI GENERIS."

Reverend Fathers and Dear Brothers in Christ,
Pax Christi:

The Encyclical "Humani Generis," which the Holy Father published last summer,[1] envisions principally a rather complex intellectual movement in which some of Ours have taken part and even played leading roles. No one who views the papal document in the light of recent philosophical and theological disputations can doubt this. Even apart from this, I had been aware that the Holy Father intended to intervene in these discussions.[2] Precisely because it was unbecoming to anticipate his action, I could not fully explain my removing certain professors from their teaching positions at the close of the past academic year. This step, I realize, has affected men of devoted work and unquestioned ability. It was inevitable that this should cause considerable pain not only to those directly concerned, but to many of their associates. Their sorrow, Reverend Fathers and dear Brothers, has been my own personal sorrow as well. How could your father not share in it? But after praying, reflecting, and taking advice, I have felt obliged to employ these and similar measures. Were I not to do this, I should be failing in my duty to guard effectively the Society's security of doctrine. I am quite aware that my procedure has been severe indeed, but the Encyclical "on certain false opinions that threaten to subvert the foundations of Catholic doctrine"[3] is a very severe warning and the index of a most critical situation. We must accept in a spirit of faith this warning of the Vicar of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

My purpose here is to treat with you of how this Encyclical is to be taken. For it sets down norms for our thought, our teaching, our writings—norms intended as a remedy for those more or less affected by dangerous and erroneous opinions. But a remedy is

not a cure. The ideas here treated of cannot be corrected without the humblest filial effort on the part of their adherents. We know from Church history how difficult such an effort is. More than once the teaching of the Magisterium has succeeded only slowly and painfully in suppressing doctrinal deviations. Here I am not speaking of the many who were unwilling to obey. I am not speaking of them, because it is clear to me that no one among you would even think of refusing to obey the Holy Father. The only attitude that befits us is perfect submission. However, between deliberate refusal to submit and entire obedience lie several intermediate positions, which we are more easily tempted to hold because we are not altogether aware of them. I judge it my duty, Reverend Fathers and dear Brothers, to dispel this obscurity as well as I can, so as to forewarn you against this temptation.

It is hard for one to acknowledge one's mistake without clearly seeing it and when through heated controversy one is persuaded that one's own position is strong and that of the adversaries weak. Besides, adopted opinions are often joined with a certain procedure of attacking and treating problems, a procedure that becomes in some way a part of one's very personality and very hard to dislodge. Finally, in such circumstances there are often friends who, for want of penetration or character, stress what may put the intervention of authority in a less favorable light, while scarcely touching on the very essentials of the question.

What happens in such a case? Unconsciously we wish to reconcile what cannot be reconciled: required submission and ideas that are dear to us. Accordingly we tend to weaken the force of texts of the Magisterium, either by arbitrary distinctions, or by soft-pedaling their exigencies, or by judging that they condemn opinions more extreme than those really intended, and hence by concluding that these latter are permissible. Everyone knows that the real meaning of texts often becomes clear only to those who search for

it with an open mind, whereas it is not grasped by those who unconsciously look for what is in line with their own preferences. The Encyclical "Humani Generis" must be interpreted according to approved rules of critical exegesis used by the better theologians when examining such documents. Yet it is not enough to apply technical rules. In addition we must search the text with indifference, ready to accept everything there. It must be noted too that it is not only wrong to hold to opinions directly opposed to the Encyclical, but even those opinions indirectly so, those namely that contradict its evident conclusions.

I emphasize these distinctions because human nature is ever apt to be ensnared; it readily believes it is obedient when looking for evasions. Another reason is (you certainly expect me to be quite candid about this): because I have learned from several facts that it is opportune for me to be insistent; some among you need to be instructed by their superior and father. They seem much preoccupied with their own defense; yet when the Holy Father speaks, another preoccupation must come first. Do they not fail to see that this is a sort of self-defense that is the equivalent of opposing the Holy Father? At least twice he has openly stated that some "Catholic teachers" have been unable to avoid these errors.[4] May one still pretend that the Encyclical touches only those extreme positions to which the opinions of certain theologians would lead, if not duly curbed, or that it deals only with deformations whereby individual students have distorted ideas of their professors? We cannot allow, Reverend Fathers and dear Brothers, our manner of receiving the Encyclical in any way to recall the unfortunate dispute "de jure" and "de facto."

It is distressing to develop this any further. Yet I am forced to do so in order to help you, particularly those very ones to whom I may cause greater sorrow.

The Encyclical is opposed to theological relativism: not only, regardless of what has been said to the contrary, the extreme relativism that smacks of liberal

Protestantism, and which the Encyclical indirectly rejects by its whole tenor, but even a more moderate relativism, which it expressly envisages and describes thus: "The mysteries of faith," it has been said, "can never be expressed by adequately true notions, but only by approximate ones, which indicate truth to some extent and can always be revised, in that they inevitably distort it. Hence they judge it not absurd but altogether necessary for theology to substitute new notions for old ones, in accord with the various philosophies that it uses as tools through the course of time, and thus to express in human fashion the same divine truths in different and even, to some extent, opposite though, they claim, equivalent ways."[5] If we wish faithfully to interpret the mind of the Holy Father we cannot admit that what is absolute and immutable in theological teaching is absolute only as regards what the affirmation intends, but not as regards what is represented, or that the matters in theology that allow no variation (namely, revealed mysteries and connected truths of reason) cannot be distinctly conceived by equally invariable notions, but are necessarily expressed by contingent notions which keep the same eternal affirmations, even while changing; or finally, that truth is not kept unchangeable when the human mind evolves, save by a simultaneous and proportionate evolution of all notions used to express it. After distinguishing the fulness of dogma (namely, the reality of Christ perceived in a concrete and living manner) and the concepts by which we partially express this treasure so possessed, we may not speak as though our concepts should be continually revised in order to be adapted to normative truth, or as though they partially expressed divine truth only on this condition: that they be referred to the fulness of dogma attained according to a higher mode of knowledge.

Moreover, in order not to depart from the teaching of the Supreme Head of the Church on the value of reason in philosophy, let us avoid speaking as if the

idea of a philosophical doctrine capable of integrating within itself the eternal acquisitions of all other philosophies involved a contradiction, and as if the most complete expression of philosophical truth were to be sought in a series of doctrines, complementary and convergent although different and even systematically opposed. The Encyclical speaks quite otherwise. It demands that we preserve the possibility of "absolutely true metaphysics," and it rejects the opinion of those who "assert that realities, especially transcendental realities, cannot be better expressed than by divergent teachings that complement each other, though in a certain measure opposed to one another."[6]

The Encyclical speaks of two proofs: of God's existence and of the fact of revelation. Regarding the first, among other things it requires us to hold "that human reason, without the aid of divine revelation and divine grace, can demonstrate by arguments drawn from created things that a personal God exists."[7] In order not to contradict this teaching or abusively lessen its meaning, we must hold that the existence of the true God can be the logical conclusion of certain reasoning. Therefore we will deny that in this matter true proof is reducible to this: the demonstration of man's need to acknowledge God by a free act of faith, unless he refuses to satisfy the essential exigency of the will.[8] We will admit too that not every proof of the existence of God is necessarily, in the sense of St. Anselm, an understanding of faith, that is to say, an effort to confirm by means of reason an antecedent affirmation of faith. Nor will we hold that every proof of the existence of God is in fact always subject to criticism, since the dialectical apparatus by which we grasp it is not only often obsolete, but in any case always inadequate to the movement of the mind, which it tries to translate and which itself would be the real proof. Finally, we will guard against otherwise weakening the natural proof for God's existence by denying that our concepts can represent God in a simply true manner. We will not say that because of the deficiency

of our concepts the affirmation of God cannot justify any form under which it is expressed, so that the mind may not avoid atheism without falling into idolatry, until the supernatural gift of the life of charity supplies an appropriate spiritual content to the affirmation of God.

With regard to the other proof, of the fact of revelation, the Encyclical observes that thanks to divinely given external signs "even by the natural light of reason alone," the divine origin of the Christian religion can be certainly proved.[9] When we read these words with reference to present-day theological tendencies, it is clear that the Holy Father confirms by his authority the classical thesis, held by most theologians against certain modern opinions. We are not forbidden to hold that in fact grace always enlightens reason when it tends toward knowledge of the fact of revelation. If the natural light of reason has, absolutely speaking, the power to discern the signs of revelation, we are nonetheless allowed to grant that its exercise is more or less hampered by an accumulation of difficulties. We must admit that the certitude spoken of by the Encyclical is certitude strictly so called; but this does not necessarily demand a motive excluding any doubt whatever; it is enough to exclude the possibility of prudent doubt. After the Encyclical we can no longer hold that only an interior call of God permits us to discern with certitude the meaning of divine facts proving the divine origin of revelation. Nor is it sufficient to affirm that revelation offers itself as an enigma to be solved but from which one can never be disencumbered. We will hold that human reason, even without the help of the light of grace, has the power absolutely needed to prove with certitude the fact of revelation. Thirty years ago, my predecessor, Father Ledochowski, forbade Ours (and his prohibition still holds good) to hold a teaching on faith which, among other things, includes the thesis condemned in the Encyclical.[10] Some seem to have thought that this thesis was forbidden by Father

Ledochowski only within the context of the rejected theory. Whatever this opinion may have been worth, the text of the Encyclical leaves no room for such an interpretation. Henceforward Ours cannot hold this thesis, whatever the context in which it appears.

Elsewhere the Encyclical censures in general terms those who "attack the rational character of the credibility of the Christian faith."[11] This is done by holding the thesis already rejected by the Encyclical: of the absolute need for supernatural enlightening in order to prove the fact of revelation. But there are other ways of doing the same: for instance, by denying the value of certain very important apologetic arguments. I do not know whether the Holy Father had this in mind, but it is my duty to warn you against this pitfall. It is neither just nor allowed to assert that a solid apologetic demonstration of the resurrection of Christ cannot be founded on historical documents that recount the most ancient apostolic preaching, the apparitions, and the empty tomb.[12] Nor may we hold that we cannot demonstrate, using the books of the New Testament taken as mere historical sources, that Jesus presented Himself as Messias and Son of God in the strict sense nor that He confirmed this testimony about Himself by miracles and His resurrection. It is not in keeping with the Catholic mind to say that, after showing that Jesus in His human life gave an example of entire obedience to God, the historian may go no further; and that as regards the further question, "Who is then this Man?" the historian must yield to the believer or the unbeliever. The Encyclical "Providentissimus" speaks in very different terms: "Because the divine and infallible Magisterium of the Church relies on the authority of Sacred Scripture, the human trustworthiness, at least, of the latter must be held and proved altogether; on these books, as on the most proved witnesses of antiquity, the divinity and legateship of Christ Our Lord, the institution of the hierarchical Church, the primacy conferred on Peter and his successors, securely and evidently rest."[13]

The Encyclical treats the question of the freedom of creation. "It is held," says the Holy Father, "that the creation of the world is necessary, since it proceeds from the necessary liberality of divine love."[14] He observes that this opinion is opposed to the teaching of the Vatican Council. Principally there is question here of creation in general; the particular form of creation is left rather in the background. The Holy Father recalls that creation, which certainly proceeds from the most liberal love of God, also proceeds from the free choice of this love. To deny that God freely chose to create is precisely the same as to affirm that God necessarily created. If it is denied that creation was freely chosen, it is futile to speak of the transcendental freedom with which God created; for, however this liberty is conceived, it would follow that God could not fail to create. After this one might speak of the contingency of creatures as meaning that no being, apart from God, has in itself a sufficient reason for existence, but not as meaning that it was possible for nothing to be created; willy-nilly one would be maintaining the necessity of creation, which is rejected by the Encyclical. It would be worse to speak not only of the necessity of creation, but to question, if not the personality of God, at least His absolute transcendence. I call attention to this, Reverend Fathers and dear Brothers, because regrettably certain writings have been spread about, treating in quite equivocal terms of the relations between God and man. The image of God which they naturally evoke greatly deforms the features of the God of our faith. I shall insist no further on this matter, as I do not believe this notion has had any repercussion among you.

The Holy Father treats also of the immediate creation of the human soul. He touches on this truth cursorily, but in the clearest terms: "Catholic faith orders us to hold that souls are immediately created by God."[15] We know what this immediate creation of the soul by God means: the soul is caused by God in such a way that it is not the term of a transformation

of any antecedent whatsoever (*non ex aliquo*). Opposed to this truth is a way of speaking which affirms that the substratum of the universe is "spirit-matter" and that the universe contains only matter becoming spirit; or which explains that the unity of the world is the ascent of a consciousness originally pluralized and as it were materialized toward an ever more spiritual state; or which holds that man is simply the highest state known to us of the growth of this spirit here on earth. It is evident that these assertions become no more acceptable by adding that the appearance of the human person marks a critical point and a change of status. Even if it is added that this appearance indicates the crossing of a new threshold, we do not for that reason achieve a doctrine of immediate creation of the soul. For a sudden and even a specific change which supervenes in a process of growth is not an immediate creation.

The Encyclical observes that there are those who compromise the true gratuitousness of the supernatural order "since they say that God cannot create beings endowed with intellect without ordaining and calling them to the beatific vision."[16] What is the scope of this statement? We must say, according to the common rule of interpretation, that the Holy Father insists that we admit the proposition contradictory to the one condemned. We must therefore hold that God could have created spiritual beings without destining them for the beatific vision. And the Holy Father shows why this possibility must be upheld: by denying it, the true gratuitousness of the supernatural order is compromised. In other words, the traditional notion of the entirely gratuitous character of the supernatural order implies that God could have created spiritual beings (which he does in fact invite to the beatific vision) without destining them for it. Henceforth then we will not say that the thesis that a spiritual creature could have been not destined to supernatural beatitude is simply an interpretation of dogma by

means of defective philosophy, or that this thesis, worked out in order to safeguard the gratuitousness of the supernatural order, is powerless to do so; or that it has no meaning, since the mind must go from existing things to possible ones and not vice versa; or again that the supernatural destiny is at the same time essential to man and gratuitous. Nor can we hold that there are two ways of explaining the gratuitousness of the beatific vision: one involving recourse to a possible order in which a being endowed with reason would not be destined to this vision; another, which would exclude such recourse and make it superfluous. Finally we will fully agree that God could have created man without destining him to supernatural beatitude; hence we will not say that this affirmation is legitimate only as an anthropomorphic manner of expressing the complete gratuitousness of a gift which God could not fail to offer man once He created him.

The Holy Father regrets that the "notion of original sin is perverted, without regard for the definitions of the Council of Trent."[17] These words should be enough, just as, before they were written, the teaching of the Council of Trent should have been enough, to keep us from imagining original sin as not arising from a fault previously committed but rather as an inborn opposition to charity, a necessary evil of the human creature involved in matter and destined to share in the divine life. For the Council of Trent expressly teaches that original sin has arisen from the "prevarication of Adam."[18] How would one avoid putting the blame on God for a sin which, independently of any fault committed, would be the natural condition of the human creature? This opinion is not sufficiently corrected simply by saying that it is only a less complete explanation, that it indicates an incomplete state of an original fault which is not fully constituted except by some sin really committed. This correction is altogether insufficient for several reasons: in particular, because Trent teaches that Adam before his fall was constituted by God in sanctity and justice,[19]

and that the concupiscence that leads to sin has its origin in sin.[20]

The dogma of original sin is closely related to the question of the monogenetic or polygenetic origin of man. On this question the Encyclical contains a significant declaration. By monogenism theologians understand the propagation of the whole human race from one single couple; by polygenism, the propagation of the human race from several sources. The Holy Father does not grant that polygenism (understood in the meaning just given) can be a matter of free discussion, as, within just limits, can be the theory of evolution as applied to the origin of the human body. He thus develops his thought: "For the faithful cannot embrace that opinion according to which either there have been on the earth after Adam true men who did not descend by natural generation from him as the protoparent, or that Adam meant a certain multitude of first parents."[21] We see that the Holy Father did not intend to pronounce on the old hypothesis of "preadamites," provided that this means a human family extinct before our human family appeared; but granted this, he forbids us to hold polygenism, and he gives this reason for his prohibition: "since it cannot at all be seen how this sort of opinion can be reconciled with what the sources of revealed truth and the acts of the Magisterium of the Church teach concerning original sin, which proceeds from a sin really committed by one Adam, and which is in each of us, having been transmitted to all by generation."[22] In other words, there is no reason to think that polygenism can in any way be compatible with our faith. A Catholic therefore cannot call into doubt the truth of monogenism. We will all admit that the mystery of original sin carries with it the existence of the first Adam, individual head of the human race like the second Adam, but who brought upon his posterity the ruin from which the second Adam freed them.

Speaking of original sin the Holy Father points out that the notion of "sin in general, as an offense against

God, and of the satisfaction given by Christ for us"[23] has also been corrupted. According to a rather recent publication, though sin can be called an offense against God as far as the sinner's attitude is concerned, since he does everything he can to offend God, nevertheless sin does not so offend God that reparation is owed by the sinner to divine justice. Accordingly, in order to condone the fault of guilty mankind, God could not require that Christ offer just reparation to the divine majesty offended by sin. The reparation offered by the divine Savior, according to this theory, is not an act of homage whereby divine justice is placated for our sins. The Pope forewarns against this error by forbidding us to distort the traditional notion of sin or of the satisfaction offered by Christ. Holding to the path of tradition, we must admit that sin so offends God that we contract a debt of reparation toward Him, and the divine Savior rendered God propitious toward us by repairing our offense through the homage of His obedience even unto death.

I must also treat with you of the mysteries of the real presence and transubstantiation. The Encyclical says that there are those "who hold that the doctrine of transubstantiation, founded on an antiquated philosophical notion of substance, must be so corrected that the real presence of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament is reduced to a sort of symbolism, inasmuch as the consecrated species are only efficacious signs of the spiritual presence of Christ and of his intimate union with the faithful in the Mystical Body."[24] Such notions are found in certain pages, which I like to think were only a hasty essay, but which should never have been written or spread about. First, as regards the eucharistic presence. It is averred that there is a real presence because the eucharistic consecration is the offering of the sacrifice of the cross, more precisely because it is an efficacious offering by which the divine Victim becomes the vivifying spirit of redeemed humanity. The eucharistic presence, as is further stated,

must not be conceived with direct or indirect reference to place; the Eucharist gives us better than that: It makes Christ spiritually present to men; thanks to It, wherever we are we are near Christ, we can call upon Him and trust in His help. It is added that we cannot be bound by this dilemma: either Christ is present in place, though not locally; or He is present only metaphorically or inasmuch as the host calls to mind His universal presence among men. For, as is stated, there is a third possibility: the consecrated host, which must not be separated from the rite of consecration, not only recalls the real presence among men, but is its efficacious sign.

Next as regards the eucharistic conversion. The term "transubstantiation" is called inexpedient, in that it is bound up with an inadmissible scholastic concept. For the scholastics hold (as these pages explain the matter) that since the reality of the thing is the substance that underlies the accidents as a foundation, the thing cannot really be changed unless the substance is changed; hence the concept of transubstantiation. Today however we have learned to distinguish various levels of reflection, in such a way that we know that everything has a meaning, and so to speak an *esse* that is scientific, and a meaning and *esse* that is religious. This latter defines a thing according to its true reality. When therefore by the rite of consecration the bread and wine are made the efficacious symbol of Christ's sacrifice and of His spiritual presence among men, their religious *esse* is entirely changed. By the creative power they have undergone a most profound transformation, since they have been changed in that aspect which constitutes their true reality. This we can call transubstantiation.

It is plain that such an opinion is forbidden by the Encyclical. For it is obvious that it cannot harmonize with Catholic faith.

I have discovered with greatest sorrow, Reverend Fathers and dear Brothers, that some among you, instead of firmly opposing this theory, have actually

drawn inspiration from it. They have added, I know, modifications and corrections; nevertheless they have held that transubstantiation must be defined or can be defined as a change of the meaning and function of bread and wine (to which they have given the name "transfinalization"). By doing this they could not rightly imagine they were renewing an ancient Augustinian tradition, despite the fact that the medieval theologians are said at one time to have spoken of "spiritual flesh" to designate the Eucharist in a thoroughly objective sense, in almost direct contradiction to the ideas of St. Augustine; despite what has been said of the new historical epoch that started with the controversy over the ideas of Berengarius, after which in eucharistic theology a dialectic of substance and accident and of quantity taking the place of substance was added to the dialectic of "signum" and "res"; and despite what has been said of sacramentary realism, which from that time has been a symbolism only in an accessory way, since the faith in the real presence for several centuries was guarded by a sacramentary theology with altogether different features and composition. We must not substitute a new representation of the eucharistic mystery for that sanctioned by the Council of Trent. We must hold that the sensible manifestations of bread and wine show forth the substance (or substantial agglomerate) of an existing subject to which they are attributed; and that this substance, by a total transformation of itself, becomes the very Body and Blood of Christ. We must hold too that by the transformation of the substance of bread and wine into the substance of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, the very Humanity of Jesus Christ is contained under the sacramental species and that It becomes present on the altar in Its own proper reality, in the place occupied by the species. For many centuries, indeed, the eucharistic mystery was not explained under so explicit a formula, but as we are reminded in the Encyclical, sound theological method forbids us to oppose vaguer expressions of older tra-

dition or Scripture to the explicit expressions of more recent tradition.[25] That would be to contemn the role of the Church and her tradition, which is to interpret and unfold the riches of the revealed word.

The Holy Father not only speaks of the Body of Jesus that is present in the Eucharist, but mentions also the Mystical Body of Our Lord. He recalls what he taught in the Encyclical "Mystici Corporis Christi," since some have misunderstood it with regard to the identity of the Roman Catholic Church and the Mystical Body:[26] "Some think," he says, "that they are not bound by the doctrine taught in our Encyclical a few years ago and based on the sources of revelation, namely, that the Mystical Body of Christ and the Roman Catholic Church are one and the same."[27] If anyone did not immediately understand the papal teaching, at least he should heed this second admonition. Henceforth we may not question the fact that the visible Church is coextensive with the Mystical Body of Christ here on earth, nor say that they are distinguished even inadequately. We may not continue to say that the Mystical Body is the invisible reality of grace, of which the Church is the efficacious sign; and that hence between the visible Church and the Mystical Body there is a distinction and a continuity as between sign and thing signified. For the Vicar of Christ speaks neither of this distinction nor of this continuity, but of a real identity: the Church is one, visible under one aspect, invisible under another, and not really distinct from the Mystical Body of Jesus Christ.

An important passage in the Encyclical[28] deals with scholastic philosophy (*philosophia nostris scholis tradita*). The Holy Father does more than stress, regardless of what some apparently have said, the value of moderate realism, in which laws of the mind or first principles are also laws of being, and according to which knowledge of the world and of certain absolute truths is possible by means of conceptual signs. This moderate realism is common to many philosophies, some of which are entirely opposed to

our "perennial philosophy." The Holy Father also had to insist on other matters. He notes that scholastic philosophy contains many matters that at least indirectly touch on faith and morals and which we may not question. Among these he enumerates, in the first place, the principles of this philosophy and its main assertions. Doubtless he approves of our perfecting and enriching scholastic philosophy; he observes also that it is useful to correlate it with other great systems;[29] but he does not want it overturned, contaminated with false principles, or regarded merely as a remarkable but obsolete edifice. He recalls that the special worth of our Christian philosophy is due not only to human wisdom but also to revelation, which has been a guiding norm for our great doctors in their research; and he asks us to try to assist the progress of philosophy, not by continually opposing new theses to those duly established, but rather by adding truth to the truth already acquired and by correcting errors that may have found their way into past teachings. Finally, with regard to the philosophy of St. Thomas,[30] the Holy Father recalls the prescripts of Canon Law which demand that future priests be given a philosophical formation "according to the method, teaching, and principles of the Angelic Doctor."[31] He praises the pedagogical and highly scientific value of St. Thomas' teaching, its harmony with revealed truth, the effectiveness with which it stabilizes the rational foundations of faith, and its aptitude for furthering a sound advance in philosophical research.

The Holy Father then takes up the defense of scholastic philosophy against its detractors. He rejects complaints against its so-called antiquated form and its method, which some have styled rationalistic. He extols its lucid statement and solution of problems, its precision of ideas, and clear distinctions. He approves the fact that it maintains the possibility of an absolutely true metaphysic; he does not admit that it is merely a philosophy of immutable essences, unable to give, as it should today, consideration to individual

existences and the constant flow of life. He defends scholastic philosophy against the charge of professing a unilateral intellectualism, and eulogizes its concept of the role of the will in man's search for truth. He rejects the opinion that any philosophical school, provided it be corrected or complemented when necessary, can be harmonized with Catholic dogma as can scholastic philosophy. Specifically, he excludes certain modern schools by name. Among these, I note particularly idealism (observing that Hegelian philosophy is certainly idealistic) and existentialism, not only atheistic but even religious existentialism if it denies the value of metaphysical reasoning.

If some of Ours had formed a mind in philosophical matters foreign to the method and great theses of the better scholastic doctors, and notably of St. Thomas Aquinas; if they did not see how they might fruitfully study present-day philosophical problems starting with the ancient scholastic teaching and in true continuity with it, they certainly could not, without grave infidelity toward the Supreme Pontiff, pretend to fulfill their office as teachers of philosophy, especially teachers of future priests.[32] Nor could their superiors, without failing in their duty, entrust to them a charge which they could not fittingly carry out. I understand that, despite a sincere will to obey, one cannot change a habit of mind overnight; but I can by no means approve that any one wish to teach philosophy who cannot conform his mind to the norms set down by the Holy Father.

In the Encyclical the norms referring to the "perennial philosophy" are preceded by those pertaining to scholastic theology.[33] The Supreme Pontiff judges it the highest imprudence to reject, neglect, or minimize "so many things of great value, conceived, expressed, and refined often by centuries of labor, by men of uncommon ability and holiness, under the watchfulness of the sacred Magisterium, and not without the light and guidance of the Holy Spirit, in order ever more accurately to formulate the truths of

faith."[34] And he adds: "The contempt for terms and concepts used by scholastic theologians naturally tends to enervate speculative theology, which, because it relies on theological reason, is thought to lack true certitude."[35] A professor of dogma would not show due deference to these admonitions if in his course he neglected scholastic theology or showed that he had little esteem for it. If this state of mind prevented him from being guided in his lectures by the teachings of the Encyclical concerning theology, he should not be kept in the teaching office, or, if need be, he should voluntarily resign the office.[36] Of course, the Holy Father does not wish an intemperate speculation to invade dogmatic theology to the detriment of positive theology. "By the study of the sacred sources," as he himself has remarked, "the sacred sciences are always rejuvenated; while on the other hand, as we know from experience, speculation which neglects the further investigation of the sacred deposit, turns out to be sterile."[37] Speculative theology itself must always return to Sacred Scripture and to Tradition; but this recourse must not become a weapon against traditional scholasticism, which the Encyclical makes so much of. If we wish closer links between theology and Sacred Scripture, this must not be, as some have said, with a view to freeing theology from alien additions, which if not entirely vitiating theology, have often placed it outside fundamental scriptural categories.

This leads me to say something on the method of interpreting the Bible; for the Encyclical touches upon the much discussed question of spiritual and symbolical exegesis. Obviously it does not intend to exclude this type of exegesis, in so far as it can claim the authority of Scripture itself and Tradition; nor does it wish to discourage the efforts of those who wish better to expound its value; nor does it prevent anyone from judging that this sort of effort is rich in promise; but it does disapprove of obvious exaggerations. We are forbidden to say that literal exegesis should give place to the new "exegesis called symbolic and spiri-

tual," as if this new method "would at last open to all the Sacred Books of the Old Testament, hitherto hidden in the Church as a sealed fountain."[38] The Encyclical "Divino Afflante Spiritu" had expressly warned "interpreters to place above all else this purpose: to discern and define the literal sense of the biblical words,"meanwhile striving as far as possible to reveal the moral and religious teaching contained in Sacred Scripture.[39]

It is certainly not in harmony with the Encyclical "Divino Afflante Spiritu" and "Humani Generis" to declare that the aim of Old Testament exegesis is to explain the symbolism by which various historical events are linked together; or that its aim is to explain the intelligibility of history, that is to indicate, through symbols, a certain style, and certain terms, the links that bind together events and institutions through the centuries. Although symbolic interpretations were much in favor among the Fathers of the Church, it is not right to say that what they aimed at in their exegesis was the discovery of "sacraments" hidden in Scripture. Such exaggerations are dangerous, for the purpose of exegesis is to search out the whole divine meaning of Scripture. When therefore one affirms that the sole purpose of Old Testament exegesis is to ferret out its spiritual and symbolic meaning, is this not to imply that the literal meaning of these books is not a divine meaning? And if it is held that Christ is the sole object even of the Old Testament, is this not apparently to minimize its literal meaning? A treatise has been published in which the human and literal meaning of the Bible is distinguished from its divine and religious meaning and treated as mere ornamental framework. But the Encyclical condemns those who insist that the divine meaning, latent under the human meaning, is alone infallible.[40] We must hold that the divine and infallible meaning of the Bible includes its whole human and literal meaning.

The same treatise suggests that scriptural inerrancy extends only to those things that the Bible says about

God, that is, to religious doctrine; and that the rest is only a vehicle of truth, in itself neither true nor false. But the Holy Father, renewing the teaching of the biblical Encyclicals "Providentissimus Deus," "Spiritus Paraclitus," and "Divino Afflante Spiritu" rejects the notion that "scriptural inerrancy pertains only to what is said of God and of moral and religious matters."[41]

It remains for me, Reverend Fathers and dear Brothers, to speak to you of certain opinions concering Eschatology. The Encyclical makes no mention of these; however, in this realm necessary prudence has not always been observed, and it is my duty to remind you of this. First, it has been said that the resurrection of the body, referred to in the Apostles' Creed, is a reality coextensive with successive events of this world, a reality that cannot be localized at one moment of time rather than another, except with regard to each individual man (in this case, it occurs at the moment of death) or with regard to all men (in this case, it is merely brought to completion at the end of time). This is not the place to quote a lengthy series of texts of Scripture, the Fathers, and the Magisterium, contradicted by this opinion. It is enough to refer to the passage of the recent constitution "Munificentissimus Deus," which echoes them: "Nevertheless, as a general rule, God does not will to give the just a full victory over death before the end of time. Hence the bodies of the just themselves are subject to dissolution after death, and only on the last day will be reunited each with its glorious soul. However, God has willed that the Blessed Virgin Mary be exempt from this general law."[42]

Another point deals with the nature of the glorified bodies, of Christ and the elect; on this some have spoken in a seriously reprehensible way. They have spoken disparagingly of St. Augustine's opinion, which is quite traditional, according to which the glorified body is an individual organism, composed of distinct members, having a particular localization. It has been

said that the glorified Body of Christ cannot occupy a special place, either in the experimental world or outside of this world in heaven; the body of the Risen Christ is outside the categories of place, and His glorified flesh, freed from spatial limitations, in some way imbues humanity like the divine presence. However, it is clear that those who take away from the glorified body everything belonging to the order of organisms and particular localization, conceive it in such a way that none of the distinctive traits of a human body, or even of a living body, as commonly understood, remain. This cannot be admitted. For the Church, using the common notion of human body, wants us to believe that the risen bodies are real. So, for instance, the fourth Council of the Lateran declares: "All will rise with their own bodies which they now possess."[43] Doubtless the Church grants that the risen bodies will be in a new state; but she does not therefore mean that the common notion of human body used here be emptied of all characteristic traits. Hence if anyone fancies that he is accepting the doctrine of the Church on the resurrection of the body, and at the same time drops everything that distinguishes the common notion of a human body, or even of a living body, it is evident that he is suffering under a great illusion. Let me point out too that an excessively spiritual interpretation of the glorious resurrection leads to very rash opinions on the apparitions of the Risen Christ. Despite the Gospel accounts of Christ's apparitions to the disciples, it is held that they cannot be exterior manifestations of the body of Christ and that they are to be understood as repercussions in the sensitive faculties of the interior, spiritual manifestation of the Risen Lord.

The third point refers to the dogma of the eternity of hell. I have heard something of an opinion to the effect that we have grounds to conjecture that the eternal punishment which God threatens against sinners is in fact not inflicted on anyone; for the merciful Providence of God could not fail to lead all to con-

version and salvation. Who are we to judge that the threats of the God of Majesty are no more fearsome than this? In the description of the last judgment given by the divine Master, are we entitled to suppress the sentence of damnation passed against the wicked?[44] If such a notion were widespread, the faithful would be deprived of a wholesome fear of divine punishment. On this occasion I wish to forewarn you against another opinion which would have the same effect. We have no reason to imagine that at the hour of death divine Mercy grants to each soul such light and supernatural strength that all sinners may be easily converted. If this were so, the Divine Savior would not have repeated his warning about the need to watch lest the unexpected arrival of the heavenly Judge take us unawares.[45]

I am sure, Reverend Fathers and dear Brothers, that no one among you has held all the opinions censured in this letter. Some have begun to be rather widespread; others less so. Most of you have accepted none of them at all. You will have noticed, as I hoped to make plain, that some of my remarks refer not so much to clearly enunciated theses as to opinions that could be furthered by dangerously equivocal statements. I have not mentioned all the points touched upon in the Encyclical "Humani Generis." Some deal with opinions which, so far as I know, have not been held by anyone in the Society; others with matters that seemed to need no explanation. It is not my office to give an authentic commentary of the Encyclical of the Church's Supreme Head; but it is incumbent upon me to take effective steps that this Encyclical be heard and followed in the Society.[46] Hence I order Ours to conform themselves, in word and writing, to the decisions on doctrinal matters enunciated in this letter. They will refrain from spreading any opinion to the contrary, publicly or privately, within the Society or outside it. They will defend none of the disapproved propositions, nor will they attack those proposed for us to hold. I am aware, Reverend Fathers and dear

Brothers, that my predecessors have never promulgated such extensive prescriptions on doctrinal matters. But none of them was ever in such circumstances —that an Encyclical of the Supreme Pontiff would condemn so many dangerous or erroneous opinions threatening to become contagious in the Society. Besides, most of my prescriptions merely explain the teaching of the Holy Father or its consequences, so as to assure the obedience due to him.

After the serious measures which I have taken in preceding months and which I alluded to at the begining of this letter, it would have been consoling to me, Reverend Fathers and dear Brothers, to write principally to strengthen and encourage you. I have been unable to do so; I have been obliged by my conscience to send you a letter that will revive and even aggravate your suffering. However, I hope that you will not fail to see the loving and fatherly motive that animates my severity. I should like to tell you, as once St. Paul did his dear Corinthians: "I write you this not to confound you, but to warn my most dear sons."[47] Again, I understand how distressing this crisis is for many of you: for a group of teachers, for their friends, for many of our younger priests and Scholastics. But, cost what it may, it is my duty to help you ward off an evil which threatens you. More grievous than your suffering would be the evil of deviating, more or less unconsciously, from the doctrinal norms of Holy Church. Such a deviation doubtless would gradually become more conscious, despite efforts to disregard it, and would become a poison for souls. Reverend Fathers and dear Brothers, none of you can permit this evil to take root in himself, none of you can communicate it to others, none of you can inflict it on the Society. The reputation of the Society is in your hands.

To this evil you will oppose a firm will to obey the Encyclical, allowing nothing that smacks of stubbornness or refusal. The deliberate and unwavering disposition of your minds will be not to hold in the future

to your opinions of yesterday in such a way that you consider parts of the Encyclical as obstacles to be hurdled, but rather to deny your own opinions, and to hold the teaching of the Holy Father as the principle according to which previous opinions are to be rejected or kept. This attitude calls for a spirit of faith and humility; but it shows truly admirable greatness of mind. If those among you regrettably affected by the warning of the Holy Father know how to accept and obey it, the Lord will draw great benefits out of the present crisis. Certainly this is His will; but He needs your co-operation. With the help of His grace you will give it. You will also be eager to follow faithfully the prescripts of our Institute on the doctrine to be held in the Society.[48] I do not wish to overwhelm you, but is it not clear that if all our professors and writers had been faithful to these prescripts, we should not now find ourselves in the present deplorable state of affairs? True, the path of the theologian and philosopher, when facing new or difficult problems, is fraught with danger. Yet this is no reason for us to shirk an undertaking of supreme importance. You have understood this, and no doubt you will continue to understand it. But we have reason not to take up this task without keeping our eyes on norms set up by the Society after long experience. From the time of St. Ignatius, who wished us to follow "the more secure and more approved teaching,"[49] the superiors of the Society have always stressed the more solid and safer teaching. There should correspond, on the part of all of Ours, a concern to have their thought, preaching, teaching, and writing stamped with this sureness and solidity as a sort of family trait.

You realize well, Reverend Fathers and dear Brothers, that the intellectual works of your provinces, far from proving a deficit, have produced many precious results in your philosophical and theological faculties and houses of writers. You are rightly proud of your periodicals and of the many important books published in your Assistancy. Among the meritorious

works for which the whole Society acknowledges its gratitude to you, I will personally mention several: first, the effective will to publish work of high literary and scientific scope; the preoccupation with work that meets the needs of the times; the elaboration of a living theology, closely linked with Scripture and the Fathers. You must not jettison these values but continue to develop them, joining them with a perfect acceptance of the Encyclical "Humani Generis." You will also develop them with greater humility and modesty by being less concerned with rethinking, renewing, and reforming, than with conserving, deepening, and to the extent of your powers, correcting, and perfecting. Thus avoiding exaggerated "integrism" you will wish your judgments and words to be frankly and filially inspired by the rule of "thinking with the Church." Even in your research you will wish to remain in full harmony with the mind of the Church and avoid an esotericism that would put you out of the great current of philosophy and theology approved by her.[50] You will cultivate in yourselves, as a very pure expression of your spirit of the Church, a great veneration not only toward the person of Christ's Vicar, but also toward the teaching, orders, and directives that directly or indirectly emanate from him. The Encyclical repeatedly insists on the obedience due to all acts of the Holy See.[51] We must make it a point of honor to allow ourselves no evasion, no ambiguous state of mind; for we belong to a spiritual **militia,** whose founder linked it by special bonds to the Vicar of Jesus Christ.[52] We shall make this obedience consist especially in fidelity to the Divine King, to Whom we have consecrated ourselves to serve Him "alone and the Church His Spouse, under the Roman Pontiff, Christ's Vicar on earth."[53]

It is very important, Reverend Fathers and dear Brothers, that there remain tomorrow no trace of the doctrinal crisis which has begun to develop among you. Rather there must be an unmistakable and unanimous rectification. This will be a work for all: some

helping by prayer and genuine charity, others actually accomplishing it by prayer and courageous submission. You are not the only ones concerned; the Society and Church are no less so. This not only because you are very dear members of both, but also because God has imparted to you gifts that promise a widespread influence on the thoughts of others. They are concerned because they expect much of you. As for me, Reverend Fathers and dear Brothers, the sacrifices which I am obliged to demand of you and the hope which I place in your generosity make me feel all the more closely attached to you. With particular urgency I pray to our divine Savior for you. May He grant you graces proportionate to the difficult crisis He wills you to overcome, keeping you unalterably attached to the teaching of His Church and to His Vicar by bonds made stronger because of this very trial.

I commend myself to your holy Sacrifices and prayers. Rome, February 11, 1951.

Your servant in Christ,
JOHN BAPTIST JANSSENS, S.J.
General of the Society of Jesus

NOTES

[1]*A.A.S.* vol. XXXXII, 1950, pp. 561-578.
[2]*Cf. Mem. S. I.*, vol. VIII, p. 385.
[3]"De nonnullis falsis opinionibus, quae catholicae doctrinae fundamenta subruere minantur" (*A.A.S.* vol. cit. p. 560).
[4]*Cf. A.A.S.*, vol. cit., pp. 564, 577.
[5]"Fidei mysteria nunquam notionibus adaequate veris significari posse contendunt, sed tantum notionibus 'approximativis,' ut aiunt, ac semper mutabilibus, quibus veritas aliquatenus quidem indicetur, sed necessario quoque deformetur. Quapropter non absurdum esse putant, sed necesse omnino ut theologia pro variis philosophiis, quibus decursu temporum tamquam suis utitur instrumentis, novas antiquis substituat notiones, ita ut diversis quidem modis, ac vel etiam aliqua ratione oppositis, idem tamen, ut aiunt, valentibus, easdem divinas veritates humanitus reddat" (*A.A.S.*, vol. cit., p. 566).
[6]"Dictitant enim hanc nostram philosophiam perperam opinionem tueri metaphysicam absolute veram existere posse; dum contra asseverant res, praesertim transcendentes, non aptius exprimi posse, quam disparatis doctrinis, quae sese mutuo com-

pleant, quamvis sibi invicem quodammodo opponantur" (*A.A.S.*, vol. cit., p. 573).

[7]"In dubium revocatur humanam rationem, absque divinae 'revelationis' divinaeque gratiae auxilio, argumentis ex creatis rebus deductis demonstrare posse Deum personalem existere" (*A.A.S.*, vol. cit., p. 570).

[8]Compare another passage of the Encyclical: "Quarum [theodiceae et ethicae] quidem munus esse censent non aliquid certi de Deo aliove ente transcendenti demonstrare, sed ostendere potius ea quae fides doceat de Deo personali ac de eius praeceptis, cum vitae necessitatibus perfecte cohaerere, ideoque omnibus amplectenda esse, ut desperatio arceatur atque aeterna attingatur salus" (*A.A.S.*, vol. cit., p. 575).

[9]"Quamvis tam multa ac mira signa externa divinitus disposita sint quibus vel solo naturali rationis lumine divina christianae religionis origo certo probari possit" (*A.A.S.*, vol. cit., p. 562). In the Encyclical "Communium rerum" of Pius X it was already stated: "Egregius Doctor [sanctus Anselmus] suos cuique fines constituit, utrique disciplinae philosophiae scilicet et theologiae, ac satis monet, quodnam sit munus et officium rationis naturalis in rebus quae doctrinam divinitus revelatam attingunt: *Fides . . . nostra,* inquit, *contra impios defendenda est.*—At quomodo et quousque?—Verba quae sequuntur aperte declarant: *illis . . . rationabiliter ostendendum est quam irrationabiliter nos contemnant.* Philosophiae igitur munus est praecipuum, in perspicuo ponere fidei nostrae rationabile obsequium, et, quod inde consequitur, officium adiungendae fidei auctoritati divinae altissima mysteria proponenti, quae plurimis testata veritatis indiciis, *credibilia facta sunt nimis*" (*A.A.S.*, vol. I, 1909, pp. 380, 381).

[10]*Cf. Act. Rom. S. I.*, vol. III, pp. 229-233.

[11]"Alii denique rationali indoli 'credibilitatis' fidei iniuriam inferunt" (*A.A.S.*, vol. XXXXII, 1950, p. 571).

[12]See in this connection the 36th proposition condemned by the decree "Lamentabili": "Resurrectio Salvatoris non est proprie factum ordinis historici, sed factum ordinis mere supernaturalis, nec demonstratum nec demonstrabile, quod conscientia christiana sensim ex aliis derivavit" (*A.S.S.*, XL, 1907, p. 474).

[13]"Quoniam vero divinum et infallibile magisterium Ecclesiae, in auctoritate etiam Sacrae Scripturae consistit, huius propterea fides saltem humana asserenda in primis vindicandaque est: quibus ex libris, tamquam ex antiquitatis probatissimis testibus, Christi Domini divinitas et legatio, Ecclesiae hierarchicae institutio, primatus Petro et successoribus eius collatus, in tuto apertoque collocentur" (*A.S.S.*, vol. XXVI, 1893-1894, p. 284).

[14]"Contenditur creationem mundi necessariam esse, cum ex necessaria liberalitate divini amoris procedat" (*A.A.S.*, vol. XXXXII, 1950, p. 570).

[15]"Animas enim a Deo immediate creari catholica fides nos retinere iubet" (*A.A.S.*, vol. cit., p. 575). See also the passage in the Encyclical on the essential distinction between matter and spirit (*A.A.S.*, vol. cit., p. 570).

[16]"Alii veram 'gratuitatem' ordinis supernaturalis corrumpunt, cum autumnent Deum entia intellectu praedita condere non posse, quin eadem ad beatificam visionem ordinet et vocet" (*A.A.S.*, vol. cit., p. 570).

[17]"Peccati originalis notio, definitionibus tridentinis posthabitis, pervertitur" (*Ibid.*).

[18]*Cf.* Conc. Trid., sess. 5, can. 2.

[19]"Sanctitatem et iustitiam in qua constitutus fuerat" (Conc. Trid., sess. 5, can. 1).

[20]*Cf.* Conc. Trid., sess. 5, can. 5.

[21]"Non enim christifideles eam sententiam amplecti possunt, quam qui retinent asseverant vel post Adam hisce in terris veros homines exstitisse, qui non ab eodem prouti omnium protoparente, naturali generatione originem duxerint, vel Adam significare multitudinem quamdam protoparentum" (*A.A.S.*, vol. cit., p. 570).

[22]"Cum nequaquam appareat quomodo huiusmodi sententia componi queat cum iis quae fontes revelatae veritatis et acta Magisterii Ecclesiae proponunt de peccato originali, quod procedit ex peccato vere commisso ab uno Adamo, quodque generatione in omnes transfusum, inest unicuique proprium (*A.A.S.*, vol. cit., p. 576).

[23]"Unaque simul [pervertitur notio] peccati in universum prout est Dei offensa, itemque satisfactionis a Christo pro nobis exhibitae" (*A.A.S.*, vol. cit., p. 570).

[24]"Nec desunt qui contendant transsubstantiationis doctrinam, utpote antiquata notione philosophica substantiae innixam, ita emendandam esse ut realis Christi praesentia in Ss. Eucharistia ad quemdam symbolismum reducatur, quatenus consecratae species, nonnisi signa efficacia sint spiritualis praesentiae Christi eiusque intimae coniunctionis cum fidelibus membris in Corpore Mystico" (*A.A.S.*, vol. cit., pp. 570, 571).

[25]*Cf. A.A.S.*, vol. XXXXII, 1950, p. 560.

[26]*Cf. A.A.S.*, vol. XXXV, 1943, p. 193 ff.

[27]"Quidam censent se non devinciri doctrina paucis ante annis in Encyclicis Nostris Litteris exposita, ac fontibus 'revelationis' innixa, quae quidem docet Corpus Christi mysticum et Ecclesiam Catholicam Romanam unum idemque esse" (*A.A.S.*, vol. XXXXII, 1950, p. 571).

[28]*Cf. A.A.S.*, vol. cit., pp. 571-574.

[29]*Cf. A.A.S.*, vol. cit., pp. 563-564.

[30]*Cf. A.A.S.*, vol. cit., p. 573.

[31]*C.I.C.*, can. 1366, 2.

[32]*Cf. A.A.S.*, vol. cit., p. 578.

[33]*Cf. A.A.S.*, vol. cit., pp. 566; 567.

[34]"Tot ac tanta, quae pluries saeculari labore a viris non communis ingenii ac sanctitatis, invigilante sacro Magisterio, nec sine Sancti Spiritus lumine et ductu, ad accuratius in dies fidei veritates exprimendas, mente concepta, expressa ac perpolita sunt" (*A.A.S.*, vol. cit., p. 567).

[35]"Despectus autem vocabulorum ac notionum quibus theologi scholastici uti solent, sponte ducit ad enervandam theologiam, ut aiunt, speculativam, quam, cum ratione theologica innitatur, vera certitudine carere existimant" (*A.A.S.*, vol. cit., p. 567).

[36]*Cf. A.A.S.*, vol. cit., p. 578.

[37]"Sacrorum fontium studio sacrae disciplinae semper iuvenescunt; dum contra speculatio, quae ulteriorem sacri depositi inquisitionem neglegit, ut experiundo novimus, sterilis evadit" (*A.A.S.*, vol. cit., pp. 568; 569).

[38]"Ac praeterea sensus litteralis Sacrae Scripturae eiusque interpretatio . . ., ex commenticiis eorum placitis, novae cedere debent exegesi, quam symbolicam ac spiritualem appellant; et qua sacra Biblia Veteris Testamenti, quae hodie in Ecclesia tamquam fons clausus lateant, tandem aliquando omnibus aperiantur" (*A.A.S.*, vol. cit., p. 570).

[39]"Ante oculos habeant interpretes sibi illud omnium maximum curandum esse, ut clare dispiciant ac definiant, quis sit verborum biblicorum sensum quem litteralem vocant" (*A.A.S.*, vol. XXXV, 1943, p. 310); and see the rest of the page.

[40]*Cf. A.A.S.*, vol. XXXXII, 1950, p. 569.
[41](*Ibid.*)
[42]"Attamen plenum de morte victoriae effectum Deus generali lege iustis conferre non vult, nisi cum finis temporum advenerit. Itaque iustorum etiam corpora post mortem resolvuntur, ac novissimo tandem die cum sua cuiusque gloriosa anima coniungentur. Verumtamen ex generali eiusmodi lege Beatam Virginem Mariam Deus exemptam voluit" (*A.A.S.*, vol. cit., p. 754.)
[43]Conc. Lateran., IV, c. 1.
[44]Mt., XXV, 41-46.
[45]*Cf.*, Mt., XXIV, 43, 44 and Lk., XII, 39; Mk., XIII, 33-37 and Lk., XII, 35-38; Mt., XXIV, 42; Lk., XXI, 34; Mt., XXV, 1-13; Lk., XXI, 36.
[46]*Cf. A.A.S.*, vol. cit., p. 577.
[47]I Cor., IV, 14.
[48]See especially *Const.* P. IV, c. V, n. 4, and c. XIV, n. 1; *Coll. Decr.*, d. 98-106; *Acta Rom. S. I.*, vol. XI, pp. 36-37.
[49]*Const.*, P. IV, c. V, n. 4.
[50]See *A.A.S.*, vol. cit., p. 567; see also the letter "Tuas libenter" of Pius IX (*A.A.S.*, vol. VIII, 1874, pp. 433-442, especially pp. 440-441).
[51]See *A.S.S.*, vol. cit., pp. 568-571, 575, 576, 578.
[52]*Exam. gener.*, c. I, n. 7; *Const.*, P. V, c. III, n. 3.
[53]"Soli Domino ac Ecclesiae Ipsius sponsae, sub Romano Pontifice, Christi in terris Vicario, servire" (*Form. Inst. a. S. P. Iulio III approb.*, n. 1).

Missionary Brothers

Of the 4,040 Jesuit missionaries scattered over the world, 664 are Coadjutor Brothers, 16 per cent of the total. Their number has declined since 1941 when they numbered 700. The war prevented the sending of replacements from many of the European countries, and native vocations have not been sufficient to take the places of the Brothers who in former times came from Europe.

Of the 664 Brothers on the missions; 250 are natives, a slow increase over the years since 1915 when they numbered only 50. The Mission with the best success in securing native vocations is the flourishing one of Madura, 53 of whose 57 Coadjutor Brothers are natives. Other regions which show considerable promise in vocations to the grade of Temporal Coadjutor are India, with 100 native Brothers and 68 foreigners; China, with 64 Chinese Brothers and 78 foreigners; Java, with 20 native and 7 Dutch Brothers, and the Philippines, with 28 Filipino Brothers and 9 American or Spanish Brothers.

—*Lettres du Bas Canada*, December 1950

TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF "JESUIT MISSIONS"

CALVERT ALEXANDER, S.J.

The Society's largest missionary magazine will be twenty-five years old this Fall. Although the first issue did not appear until January 1927, it was around the feast of the American Martyrs, on September 12, 1926, that the first editor, Father Ignatius Cox (New York), and his assistant, Father Peter J. Dolin (New England), began to prepare the copy for Vol. I, No. 1 of *Jesuit Missions.*

The founders of *Jesuit Missions* did not foresee that the magazine they were beginning would in the next twenty-five years become the most widely circulated of all the Society's missionary magazines. Hidden from their eyes were the historical forces which would sharply reduce the missionary potential of the great European countries and hasten the development of America's part in the world missionary movement. But they did have vision. They saw very clearly, a quarter of a century ago, that the Church in America had a foreign missionary destiny that was yet unrealized; that the Society of Jesus which played so important a part in the foundation of the Church in the United States must exercise the same leadership in this world apostolate; and finally, that this leadership could be most effectively achieved not by a single province but by the cooperation of all the American provinces in a missionary organ which would present to the public the united efforts of all the American Jesuits in the mission field.

Their wisdom has been justified by the years. In 1926 there were about 175 American Jesuits engaged in missionary work, most of which was confined to continental North America and the Caribbean countries of Jamaica and British Honduras. In 1951 the number of American Jesuits actually in the mission field has passed the 1,000 mark. The number of missions has increased from six to sixteen. It is interesting to note

that the expansion of the American Jesuits has been chiefly towards the Orient. In 1926 we were just beginning our first Oriental missions, the Philippines and Patna, India. Today most of our power and our greatest missionary effort is expended in the Far Eastern and Middle Eastern missions which include besides the Philippines and Patna, China, the Marshalls and Carolines, Ceylon, Jamshedpur (India), Delhi (India), Baghdad and Japan. The missionary personnel was increased in Alaska, the Indian missions and in Jamaica and British Honduras and a new Central American mission was taken over in the Republic of Honduras. The eight American provinces today operate a string of missions that almost encircles the globe. They engage in a variety of social, medical and educational works among over fifty million people. Perhaps their most outstanding achievement has been in education. Besides the large number of primary schools for which they are responsible, they operate one university, eleven colleges, twenty-six high schools and four seminaries in the mission fields. American Jesuits are today widely known as America's largest missionary organization and are leaders in the stepped-up tempo of mission work now undertaken by American congregations.

Purpose and Program

Jesuit Missions was founded at the beginning of this remarkable mission expansion and the part it has played in it over the years has been an important one. Missionary work of its very nature is a hidden enterprise. You can build a church or college in Cincinnati or Los Angeles and thousands of people who are potential supporters cannot help being aware of its existence because they can see it. The same cannot be said of a church or college in Zamboanga or Baghdad. This far away, hidden work of the mission requires, as no other work of the Society, an effective publicity apparatus to make its efforts concrete and visible to the Ameri-

can public from which must come its financial support, its vocations and its prayers for supernatural aid.

The founders of *Jesuit Missions* acted wisely in establishing a national magazine, instead of several provincial ones, for this important work. The number and geographical variety of the missions operated by the eight American provinces has made it possible for *Jesuit Missions* to get out a more attractive and interesting magazine with a wider appeal to those interested in mission support and vocations. The combined mission personnel of all the provinces has given the American Jesuits continual leadership in numbers of men in the field which could not have been achieved if there had been no national publicity organization for the missions.

It would be impossible to mention by name all the Jesuits who were responsible for the establishment of *Jesuit Missions*. Many were involved. There was a general feeling abroad in the provinces in the early 'twenties that something should be done about mission publicity on a national scale. This was best expressed by Father Joseph Gschwend (Missouri), then a Scholastic but later the second editor of *Jesuit Missions*, who attended the convention of the Catholic Students Mission Crusade in 1924 and reported that the Society in America was not known as a missionary order. Others were thinking of a national mission magazine including Father Dillon, Provincial of the California Province, and Father McMenamy, Provincial of the Missouri Province. But the man whose name appears earliest and most consistently in the negotiations towards the establishment of *Jesuit Missions* and the one who was chiefly responsible for its existence was Father Laurence J. Kelly (Maryland) who was then Provincial of the Maryland-New York Province. As early as 1923 he was preaching the doctrine that the American Jesuits should have a mission magazine like Maryknoll's. In 1925 on the occasion of the beatification of the Jesuit Martyrs he received permission from Father General to make *The Pilgrim* a missionary

magazine carrying stories from all the American missions. This was the year of the Mission Congress in Rome and the occasion of a directive from Father General urging that a national mission magazine rather than provincial ones be established. In May 1926 Father Mattern, then the American Assistant, visited the States and reiterated the instructions of Father General to the various provincials. *Jesuit Missions* was founded as a result of this and grew out of the old organ of the American Martyrs' Shrine, *The Pilgrim.* Father Cox, then editor of *The Pilgrim,* became the first editor of *Jesuit Missions.*

While *Jesuit Missions* today is a much larger and different organization than it was twenty-five years ago, the changes that have taken place have been those of growth from the original plan rather than deviation from it. Father Cox wrote the foundation program approved by Father General in 1926 under which *Jesuit Missions* still operates. And it was his explanation of how this program should be developed that has guided succeeding editors and associate editors. This continuity of purpose has been an important factor in the progress and success of *Jesuit Missions*—this and the remarkable validity of the original idea itself. Briefly, this idea was that *Jesuit Missions,* while having as its chief work the publication of a national missionary magazine, should also act as a publicity and public relations organization for the missions of the American Assistancy. This latter meant that in addition to the magazine, the editors should make use of all the modern media of publicity to broadcast the knowledge of our missionary work to the American public.

Today *Jesuit Missions* is such a public relations organization. It has a Publicity Department which sends regular press releases and pictures to the papers, both Catholic and secular, and to magazines as well as to the Propagation of the Faith Directors, thus giving a much wider circulation to material and appeals received from missionaries. Its Audio-Visual Depart-

ment has produced eight sound technicolor movies, forty-five minutes in length, on the various missions and three other silent versions. More than 120 copies are presently in circulation. Nine colored slide lectures have been produced on India, China, Baghdad, The Moslem World, Caroline and Marshall Islands, Japan, British Honduras, the Philippines and Yoro. These slide lectures are more effectively used in smaller groups than the mission movies. Exhibits have been turned out for display at conventions and rallies. Another department takes care of encouraging missionaries to write books and finding publishers for them when they are written. The Research Department keeps accurate statistics on the thousand American Jesuit missionaries and the history and geography and political conditions of their various areas. Every year a four-page spread on our mission personnel is prepared for the *Catholic Directory,* and every two years a larger catalog of American Jesuit missionaries is published. These publicity activities and others in which *Jesuit Missions* now engages were not added immediately. It was Father Gschwend, the second editor, who began them by obtaining permission to engage in the publication of books and pamphlets on the missions. This was in 1928. It took years of really difficult struggle because of the smallness of the staff and lack of finances to begin these other activities.

Circulation and Income

Although these publicity activities are important and very productive of financial assistance and vocations, the editors of *Jesuit Missions* are never allowed to forget that the magazine is their most important work. For it is the magazine which supports the publicity activities, and the method of obtaining circulation for it is, in itself, one of our most effective publicity weapons. All of the Fathers on the staff preach for subscriptions in the churches of the various dioceses throughout the country, sometimes speaking to as many as four hundred thousand people a year.

The result of this is money for the missions and also subscriptions for *Jesuit Missions.*

Although the first purpose of *Jesuit Missions* is not the collection of money, it is one of its purposes as stated in the foundation program. Exclusive of extraordinary gifts, *Jesuit Missions* averages in contributions from its readers a steady income of more than $100,000 per year for the missions. In addition to this, *Jesuit Missions* has always been able to support its staff and its various publicity activities on income from the magazine. Because of the wide-spread and long-range nature of its publicity activities it is impossible to give accurate figures on the amount of money it produces for the missions each year. Some donors send their gifts directly to the missionaries, others to the mission procurators. But from the income received at the office it is evident that returns increase with a rise in circulation and decline when circulation drops.

Circulation, therefore, is the most important activity of *Jesuit Missions* and all recognize it as such. Every extra subscription received means more money for the missions and more money to engage in public relations and publicity activities. Although *Jesuit Missions* today with 125,000 subscribers has the best circulation of any of the Society's many missionary magazines, it stands a poor fourth among the mission magazines of the United States. The leaders in the circulation field, especially *Maryknoll,* have always put more men in subscription promotion work than we have.

Before concluding, one other important activity of *Jesuit Missions* should be mentioned as showing the wisdom of its founders. In the foundation program *Jesuit Missions* was instructed "by means of its board of editors to constitute a permanent committee for the advancement and protection of our missionary interests." This provision has enabled *Jesuit Missions* to make very important contributions to the growth and development of the American Jesuits in the mis-

sions. From the very beginning it was seen by the editors that full-time procurators for the missions were essential in every province. There was no single province that had one in 1927. *Jesuit Missions* campaigned for this idea at the regular Provincials' meetings. Today all of the American provinces have full-time mission procurators. *Jesuit Missions* also organized the American Jesuit Missionary Association which is a union of the mission procurators and the editors of *Jesuit Missions* in working out mission promotion on a national scale. Another achievement was the formation of the Mission Secretariat which is an organization of all the Catholic mission societies in the country.

Jesuit Missions has come a long way since 1926 but no one is more conscious than the editors of the distance it still has to travel to be a public relations organization worthy of the achievements of the 1,000 American Jesuits in the mission field. Progress in the missions has been much more rapid than progress in mission publicity at home. This is unfortunate for it puts the missionaries themselves under the disadvantage of not receiving the income that they would get were their splendid work better known.

WORK AND WORSHIP

These are the watchwords of that night which we call day. They are certainties. Speculations are only useful inasmuch as they lead on to work and worship. We have a kind of creative or conserving force within us. And we have to evolve order and beauty out of our surroundings—the brown earth, the barren sea, the souls of men; or we have to help in keeping intact such work as the progressive centuries have wrought for mankind, and to keep earth, and sea, and human lives from reverting to primitive chaos.

CANON SHEEHAN

CHINA MISSION IN EXILE

ALBERT R. O'HARA, S.J.

On the afternoon of Februray 15, 1949 I hurried with many documents and a couple of handbags to the huge customs shed at Shanghai to have my baggage inspected before leaving for the Philippines, "Land of Exile." About twenty-five Chinese Jesuit novices and an equal number of juniors were pulling and tugging at huge piles of suitcases and handbags. The long, gray beard of Father Beauce, S.J., marked him out for the seventy years that were really his though not a true indication of the energy and good humor with which he was carrying out his duties as Vice Superior and Master of Novices. Father Ralph Brown (California Province) had been commandeered to be Minister and Procurator of the same group. One or two other Jesuits of the Shanghai Mission and several Austrian Jesuits who were professors for the Kinghsien Regional Seminary completed the first shipload of exiles. For some of us it was with a heavy heart that we waved "goodbye" to China, our fellow missionaries, and our Chinese Catholics. Exile lay ahead and we knew not what fate was awaiting China and those we left behind. For others it was an exciting experience to leave the seclusion of the scholasticate and to travel to South China and the Philippines.

What was the reason for this exodus? The Communist threat to overrun all China had brought up the question of moving out those men who were not actually engaged in the direct care of souls. The decision of Very Rev. Father General was that all should stay except the novices and juniors and their faculty, as well as the seminarians who were entrusted to the Jesuits for instruction. The Visitor for China, Very Rev. Father Burkhardt, had earlier, as Superior of the Kinghsien Mission, visited the Philippines and arranged with Very Rev. Father Leo Cullum, Superior of the Jesuit Mission in the Philippines, to move the

Regional Seminary of Kinghsien to the Islands in case of necessity. Through the good offices of His Eminence Cardinal Spellman, a request had been made of President Quirino to allow Chinese seminarians and religious a refuge in the Philippines if events warranted such a move. The request had been granted and now we were taking advantage of the offer. It was, however, to be a slow and tortuous groping through a maze of red tape.

The Kinghsien Seminary

The excitement of our trip on the *General Meigs* was not allowed to destroy religious discipline. We were grouped together in third class and recited litanies in common, made points and examen by the tinkle of a bell, and followed something of an order of the day. Meanwhile Father Ernest Bruckner and I slipped out of this monastery atmosphere for a briefing on the history of the seminary of which I was to be Minister. We had been ordained together in Zikawei in 1939. He had become Spiritual Father and Scripture professor for the Kinghsien Seminary while I had been teaching sociology at the National Central University in Nanking. The seminary at Kinghsien, Hopeh in North China, had been under Communist rule for several years. At first the Communists had not molested it because the Fathers were in great favor with the local Reds and the common people for their generous help and protection of the people during the Japanese occupation. Finally the local officials were moved elsewhere and new ones came in with orders to break up the seminary. They suddenly descended on the house, imprisoned the Fathers and dispersed the seminarians. The latter asked for passes to return to their homes and these were freely given. However, instead of going to their homes, they made their way in twos and threes to Tientsin which was then in Nationalist hands, and regrouped. Meanwhile the Fathers were brought out of jail for the "Tou Cheng" or People's Court. After a number of attempts

none was found who would accuse the Fathers of any crime and they were released. Most of them were allowed to go to Tientsin where they found the seminarians waiting for them. They joyfully banded together and moved on to Peiping. There they bought a new location but after two years of fairly peaceful study the city was surrounded and in danger of being taken by the Communists. Since it seemed certain that they would break up the seminary as they had done before, the decision was made to evacuate the students and their professors by plane. The Protestant missionary plane, the "St. Paul," which was evacuating missionaries at the time, was chartered. The first group got out safely but when the plane returned to pick up the remaining seminarians, gunfire on the air field frightened off the pilot. The first group, about thirty, moved on to Shanghai where they were most charitably received and cared for at the Zikawei Seminary. After the Reds captured Peiping the remaining seminarians registered as poor students and again asked for passes to go back to their homes. The request was granted and they started out on a gigantic hitch hike to Shanghai by devious roads and means of transportation. Trickling into the city they were met by Father Burkhardt who comforted and encouraged them. Following the decision to move the seminary to the Philippines, the seminarians and several of their professors were flown to Hong Kong. After a most kind and charitable reception by Very Rev. Father Ryan, Superior of the Mission of the Irish Jesuits, and by Rev. Father Harris, Rector of the Regional Seminary at Aberdeen, they were given a temporary refuge in this beautiful location.

When the *General Meigs* reached Hong Kong on February 17, the novices and juniors were whisked away to a ship for Macao. Villa Flor at Macao was to be their home until arrangements could be made for the visas for the Philippines and for other necessities. After a one day stay at Hong Kong which was made most enjoyable by the hospitality of the Irish Jesuits,

I went on alone to the Philippines. February 20 found me struggling through crowds of disembarking people to be met by Father Walter Hogan, S.J., an old friend, and by the imperturbable Brother Dio who for years has skillfully extricated Jesuits by the dozens from the clutches of immigration officials, customs officers, and waterfront bullies. Here began a most wonderful story of charity towards the China Mission refugees that words fail to tell adequately and to which the word *finis* has not yet been written. From the Superior of the Mission, Very Rev. Leo Cullum, S.J., on through the various rectors and ministers of the houses in and near Manila, to the Scholastics and Brothers, our refugees were met by nothing but the most unstinted, self-sacrificing and thoughtful charity. Father Paul Hugendobler, at the time Vice Rector of the Ateneo de Manila, showed me hospitality that would be hard to equal during my month's stay at the College. Father James McMahon, at the time Minister of the Sacred Heart Novitiate, Novaliches, and Father James Hennessey of the same house, immediately called to take me to the Hacarin Farm of Don Vicente Araneta where there were some Quonset huts which had been used for an agricultural school and which Don Vicente had generously offered to us for housing our seminarians.

Araneta Farm

Six huts together gave promise of taking care of the needs of the seminary which we thought would number about fifty students and six or seven staff members. At a distance of about two or three blocks there were two other large buildings in excellent condition but we would have to walk in the burning sun during the dry season and in heavy downpours over muddy roads during the long, rainy season. As a result we did not consider them for permanent use for our needs then. Father Hennessey and I immediately drew up plans for the partitioning of the Quonset huts. We had a dining room and a kitchen in the center, two

dormitories at one end for the seminarians, and a chapel and sacristy next to the dining room. The fifth hut supplied six rooms and a recreation room for the Fathers, and the last supplied two good-sized rooms for study and class with library space between for a noise buffer. Work was started immediately according to these plans but not rushed as the visa and immigration process gave promise of being long drawn out.

On March 20, however, Father Franz Reiterer (Austrian Province), Vice Rector of the Seminary, wired me from Hong Kong that Father Bruckner would arrive in Manila about April 2 with the first group of seminarians. Unfortunately I was just completing a retreat to the graduates of the Philippine Women's University, Father Hennessey was in the midst of oral exams for the philosophers at Novaliches, and the Fathers of the Ateneo were giving their final exams to the students there. Novaliches is twenty-three kilometers from Manila over rough roads, and the Araneta farm is another seven kilometers over the same type of road. Hence the supply and transportation problem is quite a serious one. Novaliches loaned me an old weapon-carrier which they had just overhauled and fixed up for this purpose. It had no top and less springs but for the first few months it was our one link with the source of supplies.

About this time Father Zehetner (Austrian Province) arrived in Manila to help me. He did not know much English and had never been in the Philippines before, but since he had been on the Seminary staff his knowledge of what was needed for that type of life together with his good humor helped me in the midst of a thousand cares. We made lists of all the things that a refugee seminary would need—from cooking stoves to toothpicks, from altars to holy-water sprinklers, from black-boards to paper and pencils. In all these matters Father Weiss, the Mission Procurator, the various ministers, Brothers Dio, Petilla and Duffy helped me greatly by tips on where and how to buy, and frequently they did the buying for me.

Since I had no license and did not know the city, Father Denis Lynch, Rector of Novaliches and Master of Novices, got me the pre-war driver for the Observatory. A devoted alumnus of the Ateneo got me a very precious person, an honest and devoted Chinese cook. When, as April 2 drew near, I was swamped by the tasks both in the city and at the Araneta farm, the Scholastics from the Ateneo de Manila generously came to my aid. Messrs. Arvisu, Arevalo, Cullen, King and Giron moved out to the farm and with Father Hennessey to say Mass for them and direct their work, they really put the place in some kind of order. Meanwhile I was making daily and sometimes twice daily trips with supplies and completing arrangements with immigration authorities, customs agents, and a bus company for the arrival of the first group. There was so much yet to be done on the day of arrival that Father Lynch kindly brought about ten novices over to the farm to tidy up about the Quonset huts. As the ship pulled in about 2:00 P. M. on April 2, it brought Father Bruckner and twenty-four seminarians. Although I had all the necessary documents for the release of the Chinese, Father Hugendobler, Father Zehetner, Brother Dio and Mr. Co Ching Yuan, President of the Chinese Catholic Action Society, came along to give me their moral and actual physical support. The preparations and precautions paid off well for we were cleared of all red tape in about an hour. The large bus carried us to the Ateneo for a cold drink and a look around. The length of the trip to the Araneta farm surprised the newcomers quite a bit but a welcome awaited us at the new home. Fathers Lynch, Doucette, and Hennessey had brought over a crate of apples and another of oranges and a box of cookies to be a *merienda* for the travellers. Father Lynch had even procured crucifixes for the rooms and small, neat holy-water founts for the doors. The seminarians were much impressed by the unbounded charity that met them at every turn.

In those days of countless demands and urgent needs

of the new men and the builders, the near-by Sacred Heart Novitiate proved most genuinely to be a "house of charity." The Minister, Father James McMahon, now Rector of the Ateneo de Manila, constantly came to our assistance when we were in difficulty and often foresaw our needs and took care of them. Very frequently our weapon-carrier broke down or ran out of gas; Father McMahon would send us the gas or loan us another truck. While our carpenters were rushing work on the kitchen to completion, we would be in need of more tables or benches; Father McMahon would arrange to have them made at the Novitiate and then send them over. Father Denis Lynch was never too busy to inquire into our needs and then send someone or something over for us. We were grateful for the kindness that both these superiors showed us in loaning us the very valuable Brother Pascua, and for his own humility and whole-heartedness in planning and personally doing all of our electrical work. I must add a word, too, about Mr. Victoriano Davucil, my truck driver, and Mr. Ch'en, my cook. Their loyalty and devotion made my work possible and their comic adventures made it amusingly interesting.

Final Preparation

As neither the Rector nor Prefect of the Seminary had yet arrived, I was asked to fill these offices temporarily. However, this was a task more in name than in fact for I had to make daily trips to Manila for consultations with Very Rev. Father Cullum about visas for the men who were still in Hong Kong, about more housing and many other matters. He was never too busy to see me nor too worried about his own affairs to give our problems his wise and prudent consideration. He put his secretarial force to work for us, called on clerical and government friends alike to assist us whenever they were needed, and arranged for a financial loan that would take care of us until we could commence to find means of financing ourselves.

More seminarians arrived by ship and plane until we had close to capacity for the facilities that we had prepared. Meanwhile, more and more seminarians from other sections of China were asking to be included. Finally we were notified by Very Rev. Father Burkhardt that we should expect close to one hundred and twenty students and a staff of about thirteen priests. Fortunately Father Franz Reiterer, the Vice Rector, had arrived in Manila to become the Prefect, and Father John Hofinger, S.J., (Austrian) to become Prefect of Studies. These arrivals released me for more work on buying supplies and arranging immigration matters in Manila. The novices and juniors in Macao were now becoming alarmed at the Communists who were threatening to swallow up their refuge before we could receive them in the Philippines. During Holy Week Father Burkhardt made a hurried trip to Manila to see what had already been done and to plan for the future. Through the kindness of Father Masterson, S.J., Rector of the Ateneo, and Father Carasig, S.J., we made a rush trip to Baguio to see whether the Jesuit Villa would be large enough to serve as a temporary house for the novitiate, and to consult with Mr. Evangelista, Executive Secretary to the President, as to the possibility of granting visas to more Chinese seminarians. In both cases the results were sufficiently satisfactory. About the middle of May I flew to Baguio again and scouted the city and its surroundings for a larger place but nothing suitable could be found. Since the vacation season was at an end and the Villa house was furnished and in running order, it was decided to tell the Jesuits to come ahead as soon as their visas were in order and transportation was available. Father Ralph Brown cabled that sixty Fathers, Scholastics, and seminarians would arrive by plane on the evening of May 30. I again flew to Baguio to make final arrangements with Father Harry Furay, S.J., who had been the Villa Superior, and to retain the cook for what I thought might be a couple of weeks.

Since the seminarians at San Jose were on vacation

and would not be back for a few more days, Rev. Father Gampp very charitably offered to put up the sixty guests until we could get them registered with the immigration officials. Father Klippert, the Mininster, arranged for a late meal since the plane would not arrive till 7:00 P. M., and the San Jose Scholastics pitched into the preparations more energetically than the workmen who had been hired for the job. At exactly 7:00 o'clock, the big four-motored plane settled down and a large crowd came out on the field to see who was arriving. The door opened and a white-cassocked Chinese Scholastic came down the gangway; he was followed by another and another. I had written them in Hong Kong to prepare white cassocks such as were worn in the Philippines so as not to be conspicuous. However, as nothing but white-cassocked figures cascaded out of the doorway, the onlookers gasped in amazement. One air attendant quipped, "It's the *new look.*" Father Klippert and Brother Dio were on hand to help the newcomers through the maze of customs and immigration red tape that invariably meets new arrivals. I had all the necessary papers to expedite the process. Mr. Jose Bengzon, an Ateneo alumnus and acting Commissioner of Immigration, was most kind, in this case as in all others, in helping us to get cleared through with a minimum of trouble and delay. Huge piles of hand luggage were cleared and within a little more than an hour the new men were hustled into two chartered buses. The whole San Jose community turned out to help them with their baggage and to show them the way about the house. The next day I brought one of the Immigration staff to the seminary and we handled the long process of registration and fingerprinting in one of the large study halls. On the second day we split the crowd into three groups —the novices and juniors piled into two chartered buses for Baguio; a small group of Chinese Jesuit philosophers were taken by car to Novaliches to join the American and Philippine Scholastics who were studying philosophy there; and about twelve more Chinese

seminarians were taken by Father Reiterer to the Araneta farm which was now bulging at the sides. As the bus trip to Baguio would take five or six hours I took a plane to see that everything was ready for the arrival of the novices and juniors. The Arevalo family had kindly rented us their summer house at Baguio near Villa Santa Rosa so that we could house the faculty in rooms; the novices and juniors used dormitories. After spending several days in Baguio to arrange for credit and supplies until the arrival of Father Brown, their Minister, I returned to Manila. Father Brown later rented the lower half of the house directly across from Villa Santa Rosa to supply classrooms for the juniors. This was to be only a temporary arrangement for about six months, since all of these houses would be in demand when the next summer season came round.

New Problems

Back in Manila new and larger problems were developing. Father Visitor had written that we should be on the lookout for a possible location for the Chinese Language School, Chabanel Hall from Peiping. He suggested that it might be located near the seminary or juniorate so as to give the language students an opportunity to practice Chinese and the Chinese to practice English. As usual Father Cullum gave himself wholeheartedly to the solving of this problem. Through the good services of Mr. Sinclair, a non-Catholic but a good friend of the Society, we discovered at Los Baños what seemed to be an ideal location for a combined seminary and language school location. The property had once been a United States Navy rest camp, had numerous buildings which could be adapted to our use, enjoyed better climate than Manila, and had excellent recreational facilities. While going through lengthy negotiations with the Philippine Government for the lease of this property, the Fathers and seminarians remaining in Hong Kong and Macao became alarmed at the turn of events there and asked that

we arrange to receive them in Manila at once. Temporary quarters were immediately set up in the remaining buildings on the Araneta Farm although these were located at a good distance from the Quonset huts.

There had likewise been serious and involved difficulties about the visas for the second group of seminarians. The other group had been covered by a special grant from the President and his Cabinet. After much delay the request for a second group had been turned down but with the advice that we could bring these seminarians in through the regular channels as students. This method was a sure one but entailed much expense, medical examinations, and a discouraging and wearying amount of documentary paper work in Hong Kong and Manila. Upon arrival in the latter city each Scholastic and seminarian had to undergo not only the usual registration and fingerprinting but also a special investigation by a board of lawyers and interpreters. Lest the interpreter misquote the seminarian, or the seminarian through nervousness or lack of experience spoil his case, I had to be present for all of these investigations which lasted for an average of a half hour a person.

About two weeks before this ordeal started, Father Jean Desautels, S.J., a French Canadian and the new Rector of the Chinese Language School, had come to Manila by plane to seek a location for his school. At this point we met so many difficulties with the Los Baños property that we gave up hope of obtaining it for our own use. Fortunately Mr. Sinclair again came to our aid and showed us a former army and prison camp which had about seventy barracks on ten hectares of land. The site was in the southeast suburbs of Manila, about ten kilometers from the center of the city. Although the barracks were in various stages of disrepair due to quasi-official and unofficial looting, we quickly decided to buy them and the equipment and to rent the land on which the central unit of houses was standing. It contained twenty-four houses in fairly good condition and by tearing down the remaining barracks,

many of which were mere skeletons, we obtained material to make the former unit ready for occupation. When an initial start with a small contractor proved to be progressing too slowly, we changed to Mr. George Koster who had a large labor force and ample materials. Father Desautels stayed on the property day after day, directing the repairs and seeing that there was no slowdown in the work. It was largely due to his close supervision and his generous cooperation with the wishes of the seminary that within about forty days the work had progressed enough to permit moving the seminary from Araneta Farm to the new site, about the end of October, 1949. The new location was called Mandaluyong from the name of the nearest townsite.

Since the language students had not yet arrived, Father Desautels kindly allowed us to complete the seminary part of the compound first. We were able to supply much of the needed furniture out of the surplus lumber that we had on hand. For the first few days after moving in, the community of the Language School consisted of only Father Desautels, Father Mendiburu, S.J., (Spanish), the language professor, and Brother Coloumbe, S.J., (Canadian); hence they took their meals with us. There were two large dining rooms leading off the same kitchen—a procedure we had decided upon both to economize and to give the same diet to each community, thus eliminating any cause for dissatisfaction. New students for Chabanel Hall began to arrive singly and in groups, but since their Minister did not arrive until about Christmas, I acted as Minister for both communities in regard to outside business and cooperated with Father Desautels in meeting the newcomers and piloting them through the customs and immigration. But since the founding of the new Chabanel Hall is to be told in another article, I shall not speak more about it here.

Meanwhile Father Bauer, S.J., (French) and Father Brown of the novice-junior community made such repairs and changes as they thought necessary at the

Araneta Farm and moved the novices and juniors from Baguio. The Rector of this community, Father Bauer, started a farming and poultry-raising project which provided the young Jesuits with a healthy outdoor occupation and produced meat and vegetables for their meals. Spurred on by this example, the seminarians and the Language School students also devoted their spare time to gardening. It was argued with reason that these young men would one day return to a Communist China where work would be required of each one of them, or at least to a people who had new ideas about hard labor.

Mandaluyong

In May 1950 Very Rev. Paul O'Brien, S.J., (American), the former Superior of the Yangchow Mission, arrived in the Philippines as Vice Visitor for all Chinese missionaries and Jesuits outside occupied China. One of his first acts was to open a philosophate for the Chinese Jesuits in connection with Chabanel Hall and the seminary. Father O'Brien set up his headquarters here with Father George Marin, S.J., as secretary. The site of Mandaluyong now houses three communities, St. Joseph's Regional Seminary, Chabanel Hall, and the Jesuit philosophate. They total over one hundred and ninety members. Every Sunday from twenty to thirty priests go out to the nearby army camps and the small barrios to hear confessions, offer Mass, and to preach. The Fathers are very frequently giving tridua, missions and retreats to lay people and religious. Members of the Language School offer Sunday Mass and teach catechism to the people of the neighboring barrio.

The Araneta Farm community has graduated a good number of juniors into the philosophate but has been replenished by new arrivals from Macao. It is normally a community of fifty to sixty. Father John Magner, S.J., (American) was loaned to the Ateneo de Cagayan as Minister. Fathers Eguren and Perez were loaned to Zamboanga for mission stations there.

Fathers Bourrett and Kearney and I were loaned to the College Department of the Ateneo de Manila for the school year 1950-51. Eleven more novices are expected from Macao in the near future. In April 1950 four seminarians were ordained priests and two subdeacons; in the following April, His Excellency, Bishop Vitus Chang, S.V.D., ordained nine more priests. But unless both the Chinese Communist regulations and the Philippine laws change radically, we are faced with the impossibility of new seminarians and novices joining us. However, the question now arises of employing the newly ordained seminarians and of placing the Jesuit Scholastics in teaching posts. Of equal urgency is the task of establishing a theologate for the China Mission Jesuits.

God in His Providence will care for these problems as He has lovingly settled them for us thus far. Meanwhile there is one indelible impression that will ever remain in the minds and hearts of all of us refugees from China—the wonderful charity of the Superior and of the whole Philippine Mission of the Society of Jesus. They were not content with treating us as their own but with even greater concern than they cared for their own. That the charity of Christ reward them as they richly deserve will be our daily prayer.

Jesuit Hymnographer

The new Office for the Assumption in the Roman Breviary has hymns for First Vespers, Matins and Lauds composed by the internationally famed Jesuit, Father Vittorio Genocesi, hymnographer to the Congregation of Rites, whose Latin works have won awards repeatedly in world-wide competitions in Amsterdam and Rome.

St. Ignatius Church Calendar
(San Francisco)

THE DEATH OF OUR GERMAN SCHOLASTICS AT HERRSCHING

When Scholastics ride off in an automobile on a villa day, it is usually a chance group bent on a pleasure trip. It was not so last June 19. Our brethren of the East German Province were making a pilgrimage to Andechs, the birthplace of St. Hedwig, the Patroness of Silesia. Combined with that was a farewell celebration both for the Master of Novices, Father Pies, on his departure for the new novitiate in Bad Homburg, and also for those who had completed their philosophy. All the Scholastics of the East German Province were in the party, except Mr. Sendler, who had to stay at home to take care of the transportation of some furniture. Mr. MacGrath of the English Province decided on the morning itself to take his place. About six in the morning the happy company left Berchmans College, and many hands waved after them. In Andechs they attended the Votive Mass of St. Hedwig, whose text the Master of Novices briefly explained. Mr. Halatsch served the Mass, and all received Holy Communion. After this they venerated the relic of St. Hedwig with great devotion and lingered long in prayer at the shrine. At their earnest request the Master of Novices gave Benediction with the shrine's marvelous monstrance.

Then began the social relaxation in brotherly companionship. About eleven o'clock the journey was continued as far as the Pilsensee to the north of Herrsching for a mid-day rest. At a short distance from the lake stood a grade crossing whose bars were supposed to be always down, and to be raised by passers-through. Mr. Muschalek opened them and closed them behind the truck. During the dinner in the streaming rain, despite limited means, a cordial gaiety sprang up, a heartiness traditional in the East German Province. The carefully tended fire was like a symbol of brotherly union. Mr. Ibrom and Mr. Jung were the

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The account of the death of the German Scholastics was translated by Father D.A. Steele, S.J. of Fordham University.

chefs. Mr. Kodes said jokingly to Mr. MacGrath that application forms to join the East German Province were still available and that the yearly contingent was small. After the meal some sat with the Master of Novices inside the truck, others took refuge under a few improvised tents. They all sang and played music in honor of the departing Master of Novices, and Mr. Schindler made a speech.

All too early it was time to think of the return journey. About four o'clock the happy group left the Pilsensee amid songs and quips. They first took the branch road by which they had come in the forenoon. The bars of the grade crossing were open. The driver passed straight through, after shifting to low gear. Since the road sloped upwards to the railroad track, the vehicle lost speed somewhat. The tracks were visible for not more than 120 yards, because they took a sharp curve into wooded country and were flanked by thick hedges. While the truck was still jolting over the railroad, the Master of Novices heard a whistle. He was sitting beside the driver, while the Scholastics were in the body of the truck laughing and singing. He shouted: "Quick, a train is coming." The driver accelerated, but too late—the electric locomotive crashed at fifty miles an hour into the hind portion of the truck. The driver of the locomotive had seen something of a blue-green color rise up above the side of the embankment. All at once a heavy truck stood directly in front of him. He applied the emergency brakes and whistled, but the momentum was too great. The curtain of the truck had been let down on the side nearer the train, and now it blew up in the air and enveloped the locomotive and hindered its driver from seeing any more. The train halted only after another hundred yards. All the Scholastics were violently thrown out, some forwards and others to the right. They probably did not even feel the impact, because they could neither see nor hear the train, and in the moment of collision they all lost consciousness. Thus, after being a moment before united in brotherly

love on earth, they found themselves united again in heaven in the love of Jesus. The truck was tossed into the air and came down fifteen yards to the right in marshy ground. One of the Scholastics lay between the tracks, another had been dragged along by his clothes, a third lay to the right of the train. These three probably died instantly.

The same can be assumed for several others. They had been thrown out to the right and lay on the other side of the truck in a ditch full of water. Most of them must have hit the ground with their heads, since their skulls and necks were broken. Mr. Raab, the least injured, told of lying between two others and wondering why Mr. Ibrom did not move. He extricated himself and saw the others lying around without realizing that they were dead. His only anxiety was that some might drown in the water. He ran alongside them, but only Mr. Ibrom had his head under water, and he pulled him out immediately. The driver's cab was crushed inwards. Father Pies flew head first through the window into the marsh. The driver, an employee of the College, was free to move, and sprang onto the embankment shouting loudly: "What have I done?" Another person shouted: "Father Pies, absolution!" The driver summoned Mr. Raab, and together they dragged out Father Pies, who had nearly been crushed under the heavy vehicle. Nearly all were lying on the ground, Mr. Raab was standing, Mr. Muschalek had worked himself upright; then the Master of Novices gave general absolution.

Meanwhile, the train crew and passengers had gathered above on the embankment. Father Pies shouted to them to help, yet only two or three ventured down. The driver of the locomotive was completely beside himself. The Master of Novices, Mr. Raab, and the few helpers now tried to extricate the living from between the dead, no easy task. It was most moving to see these young men, so happy a moment ago, now pale and lifeless. But no less moving was the resignation with which they took their fate, whether wounded

or dying, from the hand of God. Those still conscious had but one anxiety, not to cause trouble to the Master of Novices. "I can manage, help the others first" was their frequent reply. Mr. Baudisch sat there repeating: "I'm all right," but was prevented by an ankle wound from rendering any assistance. When the Master of Novices asked Mr. Halatsch: "Werner, where is it hurting you?" he pointed to his chest, but was clearly not in the full possession of his senses.

A passenger familiar with the neighboring tuberculosis hospital had promptly summoned the doctor and the priest. Both came, and all the fatally wounded were able to receive the last sacraments. When they came to Mr. Muschalek, he said: "I think I shall come through after all." Thirteen of his fellow Jesuits were dead, gone to join the Society Triumphant. The word was fulfilled, that the Church had sung that day: "They are brothers in very truth; they have conquered the sinful world and have followed Christ; full of honors, they now possess the Kingdom of Heaven." The severely wounded and all who needed surgical attention were carried to the surgical station at Seefeld, the rest to the tuberculosis hospital at Herrsching. Mr. Halatsch and Mr. Keith were the first to arrive at Seefeld. Mr. Halatsch died soon after, praying in his pain and frequently pronouncing the Name of Jesus. Mr. Keith died next morning. He probably never regained consciousness. The second group included Mr. Seidenschwarz, who died on the way. His right hand clutched the vow crucifix he constantly wore on his person.

The collision had taken place about four-thirty o'clock. The truck driver called Father Rector in Pullach (near Munich) and broke the news to superiors and their subjects in Berchmans College. He believed at the moment that the number of the killed was ten. A quarter of an hour later, a representative of the *Munich Mercury* reported that a train had collided with our truck, killing twelve and seriously injuring seven. After a second quarter of an hour, the hospital

in Seefeld announced the death of two more wounded. Meanwhile, Father Provincial was informed, and sped at once with Father Moreau to the scene of the accident. Father Rector, Father Stasch and Brother Motzet also drove as rapidly as possible to Herrsching. Father Minister and Father Fank informed the Fathers, Scholastics and novices of the fateful catastrophe. Deeply shaken, many hurried to the chapel to pray for their fellow-religious whom God had called so suddenly to Himself.

During the night between Wednesday and Thursday, the mortal remains of our brethren were carried back to the College which had so long been their home, which had conferred on them so many joys, and which had witnessed their zeal. The Scholastics kept a vigil that night in the chapel for the feast of Saint Aloysius, one of the three Jesuit Saints of Youth. "They are signs," wrote the Vicar General of Augsburg, "that the Society has harvested its best fruit just where it had to sacrifice its fairest blossoms."

The sympathy extended to our College and to all the stricken families was most extraordinarily great and consoling. As soon as the news broke, high ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries expressed their sympathy by letters and telegrams of condolence. They came from His Eminence Cardinal Faulhaber, His Eminence Cardinal Frings, His Excellency, the Bishop of Augsburg, Minister President Dr. Hans Ehard both personally and in the name of the Bavarian Government, Minister President Karl Arnold of North Rhineland and Westphalia, several Ministers of States and of the Federal Government, as also the American authorities. The telegram from Minister President Arnold ran in part as follows: "Please convey my heartfelt sympathy for this heavy loss to the families of the dead as well." It is worth particular record that the Parliament of Bavaria paid its respects to our dead fellow-Jesuits by rising from its seats. Its President, Dr. Alois Hundhammer, also sent a telegram of personal condolence.

No less cordial was the sympathy tendered by orders and congregations. Benedictine abbots, provincial superiors and superioresses general gave expression to their deep sympathy and promised prayer and remembrance at the altar. For example, a telegram sent from Maria Laach ran thus: "We share your grief at this severe loss, and will sing a Votive High Mass on Monday—Abbot Ebel and Chapter." Likewise a letter from Archabbot Benedict Baur of Beuron: "We remember at the altar, and in our daily office, not only those who perished, but also the sorely tried superiors of houses, and the parents. May our participation and sympathy bring you a little consolation, if only a little." In fraternal union, many ecclesiastical and secular universities, many theological and philosophical faculties in Germany, and many diocesan seminaries, shared our burden of sorrow. Several university professors offered sympathy in personal letters and telegrams. Numerous manifestations of condolence also came from academic organizations and societies. Even this does not exhaust the list of fellow-mourners, as was shown by the large number of separate letters, wreaths, flowers, and promises of prayer. Very great consolation was given us by the fact that the people of Herrsching kept watch before the Blessed Sacrament all through the night after the accident.

Among the sorely tried, we must number the Society itself, considered as one great family. Most of the colleges and residences showed us their fraternal sympathy and celebrated a Solemn Requiem. Very Reverend Father General directed that fifty Mass intentions be directed to each of the dead together with his family. May this tale of charitable union in grief conclude with his paternal words: "Heartfelt sympathy, and God's blessing on you all."

On the morning of Friday, June 22, we bore our brethren to the grave. The funeral ceremonies began in the College at nine. An unusually large congregation had assembled for the Holy Sacrifice, which was offered for those gone to their eternal home by His Eminence Cardinal Faulhaber. The simple but moving

choral music for the Mass of the Dead was sung by a picked choir of Scholastics.

The funeral followed at once. The sixteen caskets lay ready in the north garden of the College. The procession wended its way outside the walls, along a shady avenue to the cemetery. In front of the caskets walked the clergy, headed by two prelates, secular priests from far and near, Benedictines, Franciscans, Passionists—all prayed together with us, at one in sorrow, at one in grief. The novices and Scholastics carried their dead comrades to the grave. Every casket bore the same simple ornament, a bright cross against the background of dark wood. A small white shield at the upper end bore the name of the deceased in black letters. The first casket was followed by a second, a third, a fourth, casket after casket, cross after cross. The long line was continued by Fathers Boegner and Müller, Provincials of the East and Upper German Provinces, the assistant clergy in black vestments. and behind them His Eminence, visibly moved. Then came parents, brothers, sisters, relatives and friends of the departed, numerous official representatives from state and local government, from the railroad and the hospital, from various societies and organizations, including the newly elected Rector of the University of Munich, Professor Dr. Schmaus. Lastly came the Fathers of the Society, and hundreds of private mourners from Pullach and from elsewhere.

Father Boegner gave the blessing of the graves. With the words: "Take what is thine, O earth, and may God take what is His," he handed over to the soil each and every one, announcing his name, his age in the world, and his age in religion. After the funeral proper, Father Müller addressed words of consolation and sympathy to the mourners. He allowed the dead to speak in their own quiet language: "Tell our dear ones not to grieve as men do who have no hope."

To the great question, why this catastrophe came upon us, there can be no complete answer here on earth.

Only by participation in the cross can we draw nearer to an answer, for the cross is ever dark and painful. "That was the will of God: that He wished us to be as we are." Indeed, it was no wild or ungovernable sorrow that spoke out of the countenances of the mourners, but rather an exultant "yes" to the mysterious will of God filling their hearts. In this spirit, we prayed together once again for our departed brethren.

Our Wounded

Father Pies, Mr. Raab and Mr. Baudisch are comparatively little injured, and have already returned to the College. Father Pies will not be able to work for some time to come, but he would like to thank through this means all who expressed sympathy with him. The four seriously wounded, Mr. Muschalek, Mr. Hundeck, Mr. Ortscheid and Mr. Wagner are slowly improving, but not yet out of danger of death. The doctors entertain good hopes of saving them all. Let us pray for them and for the dead.

Words of Consolation of Father Provincial

The following words were spoken at the grave by Father Francis X. Müller, Provincial of the Upper German Province:

The extraordinary nature of this disaster bids me, though it is not customary, to address a few words to you here at the grave-side of our brothers who have been called home by our Father in heaven. My words are ones of sympathy and of consolation, especially for the families of these young men, who are with us here. I have known intimately these young brothers of mine who here are being laid in their final resting-place, known them from the time when they took their first steps in the Society of Jesus. And therefore I was aware that, from the day they said farewell to their families and consecrated their lives to the service of

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Mr. John J. Mulholland, S.J. of Woodstock College translated the address of Father Müller.

the Master, their loving hearts ever preserved a deep-felt sympathy for the heavy burdens of those dear ones whom they had left behind in Eastern Germany. And on that fateful evening, when I reached the spot where these young men lay in blood in long rows, like the sheaves of wheat after the harvest, they spoke to me from their silent lips:

"Tell our loved ones that they must not be sad as those are 'who have no hope.' Bid them remember that day when they first taught us, as little children, to make the sign of the Cross, that same sign with which we consecrate our lives to our Lord. And tell them not to ask themselves why our Lord, after all the suffering they have already endured in the loss and destruction of their homes, now takes from them also their own sons, in the very bloom of youth. To this quesiton they will never find a complete answer on this earth. For our death is a participation in the mystery of the Cross, and the Cross will always be covered with the pall of sadness until the day when they, even as we, look on the face of God and finally come to understand that His love for us was deepest when He sent us trials and sorrows. We have become the grains of wheat, which our Saviour said must fall to the ground and die, in order that they may bear fruit. In this hour of sacrifice our lives have attained a glorious fullness and richness, because our Lord desired to take us, just as we were, to further the spread of His Kingdom in these times. It is true, we were your hope for the accomplishment of the great ministry which lay ahead of us in the districts of our homeland, a country that more than any other was in need of our labors. But, believe us, that ministry will be accomplished through us, even though we no longer remain visibly among you. For our lives have not been taken from us; it is only that the manner of our living has been changed. And this tranformation of our lives bestows on us a power the possession of which makes us glad to have exchanged our earthly life for this eternal one. During our lives we desired nothing more ardently than with all our strength to serve God

our Lord, and the manner of the service He wished from us has been shown in our death.

"On their shoulders our fellow-Scholastics are now carrying our mortal remains to their final resting-place near the groves of Pullach. We are sure that the burden they are carrying will be for them a symbol of the unity in which they, together with us, will carry out the tasks ahead . . .

"We will, nonetheless, remain with you, even though our visible existence must yield to the invisible, yet far greater, union which now binds us together."

Beloved friends in Christ, in this sad hour I have dared to speak to you as I have, because I knew the innermost reaches of their young souls, and realized how completely they had given those souls, full of love, to their God. For that reason also, standing at the spot where they took leave of this world, I was able to conquer sadness; for I knew that they had been permitted, as sons of grace, to come home to the kingdom of the Son and His Father. That is the consolation I offer you in this hour of your sorrow.

On that evening, as I was leaving the scene of the accident, it was as though nature itself, which so often has from God the power of speaking to us His messages, wanted to offer some token of comfort. Through the darkened clouds which were gathered in the heavens over Andechs, there burst suddenly a great light, which formed across the sky a beautiful rainbow, a symbol of the peace which is possible even in the time of great destruction and loss. In this peace, which only our Lord can give, we wish to say farewell to our young brothers. May we always remain united in God. Amen.

Brother John Jacob, S.J., pioneer of the Scout movement in British Honduras twenty years ago, has been awarded the O.B.E. His Scout encampment, said to be a model for other groups in the colony, is visited annually by the Governor General.

Universe, July 27, 1951

Jamestown
Paspahish
Landing? 1570
Chickiac Site of Mission? 1570-71
YORK RIVER
Powhatan's Village
Poropotanke R.
PIANKATANK RIVER
RAPPAHANNOCK R.
JAMES RIVER
Newport News
First Mass? 1570
Kecoughtan
Menendez, 1572
Pt. Comfort
Cape Henry
BAHIA DE MADRE DE DIOS

THE JESUIT MISSION IN AJACAN, 1570
A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY

ALBERT J. LOOMIE, S.J.

Historical Background Of The Mission

When Juan Ponce de Leon first sighted the coastline of the present southeastern United States on Easter, 1513 and named it after the feast *"Pascua Florida"* his discovery did not have much significance to his contemporaries. Spain after consolidating her hold on the Caribbean islands was pushing westward. For sixty years thereafter, all the attention and energies of the mother country were to be expended on the Peruvian and Mexican Conquests, so as to solidify her hegemony over Central America. During this time the province of Florida, embracing roughly the land between the Mississippi and the Chesapeake Bay, was the scene of sporadic explorations.[1] De Pineda explored the Gulf of Mexico in 1519, Lucas de Ayllon combining exploration with slave trading established a short-lived colony on the Carolina coast in 1526. De Soto in 1538 forced his way overland up into the Carolinas and then turned westward. These and other arduous expeditions resulted in several attempts at colonization but hostile Indians and difficult terrain produced nothing but misfortune and tragedy.

Florida was a failure as an economic investment, but it was still useful as a defensive outpost for the

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Ajacán is the Spanish transliteration of the Algonquian place name Ashacàn. This was the region around the Chesapeake Bay, covering the states of Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina. The meaning of the word is disputed. Two of the more prominent interpretations are "beaten copper" and "crossing place."

The author wishes to thank Father Kurt A. Becker, S.J. for assistance in translations, and Father Clifford M. Lewis, S.J. for notes on history and cartography. A detailed historical study of the Segura Mission has been prepared by Father Lewis and the author for a monograph *The Jesuit Mission in Virginia* to be published next year.

rich colony of New Spain. It was to remain a salient thrust out against future aggression.[2] This danger materialized in 1562 when the Huguenots under Jean Ribault established a colony on the island of Santa Elena, off the coast of South Carolina. Two years later, René Laudonière founded Fort Caroline on the St. John's River in Florida. By this move the French commanded the homeward route of the Spanish Fleet because the winds and currents of the Caribbean Sea forced the use of the Bahama Channel,[3] and ships using the Gulf Stream sailed as far north as Bermuda before heading eastward.

To meet this French threat, Philip II called upon one of the most able captains in his service, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés.[4] This ruthless leader planned to maintain the Spanish hold on the province of Florida, by forcibly driving out the French and establishing Spanish *presidios* along the coast from Tampa Bay to Santa Elena and by intensive missionary efforts among the Indians. In this latter task, the Dominicans had already suffered at the hands of the hostile Indians, and when other religious orders refused to work in such unfriendly terrain the Admiral requested the Jesuits to labor in his province. Until this time the Society of Jesus had been excluded from evangelizing in the Spanish overseas Empire, although Portugal had invited Francis Xavier in 1541 to its East Indies and in 1549 Emmanuel Nobrega had begun the Jesuit mission of Brazil.

The ambitious plan of Menéndez de Avilés envisioned Florida as being subdued by soldier and priest. This land of hurricanes, swamps, sandy soil and unfriendly Indians would be salvaged by the missionary. This was in keeping with the Spanish colonial policy of the time, for "the mission was *par excellence* a frontier institution. The missionary was the agent not only of the Church but of the state as well. His primary business was to save souls and spread Spanish civilization among the heathens." [5]

On March 20, 1565 Philip II in a letter to Menéndez de Avilés gave permission for four religious of the Company of Jesus to enter the expedition of the Admiral, "so that the faith may be taught in that region, and the Indians be converted to our Catholic faith and sovereignty." [6] Thus from the very beginning the work of the Society of Jesus in Florida was bound tightly to the political and military objectives that Philip II sought in his struggle against the Huguenots. Obviously plans for colonization and evangelization would be subordinated to the crisis that the French advance had created. Menéndez would be forced to absent himself frequently from the province and the necessary financing of the mission would be at best very haphazard.

The First Jesuit Missionaries

Although Francis Borgia, Vicar General of the Company of Jesus had promised three Jesuits to Menéndez for his expedition,[7] their departure was delayed by the General Congregation of the Order in Rome in 1565. The Admiral sailed without them from Cádiz on June 28, 1565 and at the head of a powerful armada, he landed close to the St. John's River and founded the city of San Agustin, the only permanent Spanish settlement in southeastern United States. Sailing northward, he overwhelmed the French at Fort Caroline, pillaged the garrison and slaughtered the helpless Huguenots.[8] The site was named San Matteo. By keeping forces at San Agustín and Havana, the vital Bahama Channel could now be efficiently policed.

With the news of the victory over the Huguenots, Francis Borgia decided to send three Jesuits with the next fleet sailing from Spain under the leadership of Don Sancho de Arciniega.[9] Philip II, however, had already written to Diego Carillo, Provincial of the Jesuit province of Castile, demanding three of his Fathers for the Florida mission. Padre Carillo, be-

lieving that Philip II was unduly influenced by Padre Antonio Araoz, the Jesuit Court Confessor whom he disliked, protested to the General over the manner of the royal request.[10] While the Spanish provincials continued to disagree over who was to be sent from their own undermanned communities, the fleet sailed in April of 1566. After two years of negotiations, no Jesuits had arrived in Florida.

A direct order from Francis Borgia cleared up the situation, and on June 28, 1566 two priests, Pedro Martínez and Juan Rogel sailed with a coadjutor, Francisco Villareal for Havana. On arrival, the group split up. Padre Rogel was to labor on the west coast of the Florida peninsula at Carlos (Charlotte Harbor) and Tocobago (near Tampa Bay). Brother Villareal worked among the Indians near Biscayne Bay at a mission then called Tegesta. Padre Martínez was to have the honor of being the first Jesuit martyr of the New World,[11] for driven ashore in a storm, he was killed immediately by hostile Indians near the mouth of the St. John's River. The two remaining Jesuits worked on for a year and a half but the results were meager and disappointing.[12]

On June 21, 1568, a new group of Jesuits arrived at San Agustin. There were four priests and ten coadjutors headed by Juan Baptista de Segura who had been appointed Vice-Provincial of the mission. Because of the difficulties in laboring on the Floridian peninsula, it was decided that the regions further north in Guale (on the Georgia coast) and Santa Elena (in South Carolina) looked more promising for missionary work.[13]

The first mission founded was at Orista (an island north of Santa Elena) and Juan Rogel,[14] the veteran of the mission, labored there for over a year. His first reports were the most enthusiastic in the history of the mission. The difficulty with the missions along the Carolina coast was that the Indians stayed in villages for but three months out of the year. The

rest of the time was spent in search of food in the forests. When the Fathers tried to gather them into villages by giving them seeds to raise crops, the poor quality of the soil occasionally forced the Indians to travel twenty miles from the mission to find a fertile spot.[15] When the famished Spanish garrison on Santa Elena raided the neighboring Indians for food, all the good will the work of the Fathers had produced went for nothing. But the experience convinced Padre Rogel that a missionary could not preach successfully until his flock had become accustomed to living in villages and cultivating the earth.[16]

Meanwhile a third party of Jesuits, a priest and two coadjutors had set sail for the Province on February 7, 1570. This group was the last to be sent to Florida. In the reports of the Vice-Provincial there was little optimism over the future of the mission but rather a desire for more fruitful fields of endeavor. In a letter to Francis Borgia, Padre de Segura gave this opinion:

> Though Ours are greatly consoled by the daily occasions for suffering out of love for Christ Our Lord and thereby advance in the interior spirit, still as this alone does not suffice for the fulfillment of the Institute we profess, I have decided to make known to your Paternity, that due to their many and well-nigh continual labors, their health and bodily strength is failing with but slight benefit to the souls of the natives and with little hope of any, judging by what has been seen up to the present.[17]

The Father General replied to Padre Segura that the religious should be free to go where there is hope of greater spiritual gain and their efforts be useful.[18] The General of the Jesuits then began an exchange of letters with Pedro Menéndez de Avilés pointing out the hindrances to any apostolic work under the existing conditions and hinting that the Jesuits would soon be withdrawn. He advised that missionaries of other orders be invited into the Province of Florida and requested that the Jesuits be removed from the chaplaincy of the Spanish garrisons, "so that Ours

would be spared to help others and live according to their rule." [19]

The Expedition to Ajacan

With the failure of the first Jesuit endeavors along the Floridian peninsula and the Carolina coast due to the interference of the royal officials and the migratory life of the Indians, the Vice-Provincial, Juan de Segura, was faced in the summer of 1570 with two possible courses. He could withdraw the Fathers from the Florida mission or make a final attempt in a district farther north named Ajacan.[20] In this latter place the example of a Spanish garrison could not sabotage the preaching of the Gospel. Segura decided to go to Ajacan and there begin the preaching of the Faith.[21] His decision was influenced undoubtedly by the presence of an Indian chieftain who came from Ajacan and had been educated in Spain after being baptized. With the help of this Indian, named after his sponsor, Don Luis de Velasco, the Viceroy of New Spain, Segura planned to live for at least a year among the natives,[22] and he believed that the absence of Spanish soldiery would permit the Fathers to labor without any annoyance by their countrymen.

Accordingly in mid-August of 1570, a group of nine sailed from Santa Elena, "five members of the Company of Jesus, and four catechists." [23] Juan de Segura had chosen for his companions: Padre Quiros and Brothers Gabriel Gomez, Sancho Ceballos and Pedro Linares; together, with three catechists, Juan Baptista Mendez, Gabriel de Solis, and Cristóbal Redondo, and a boy to serve Mass, Alonso de Olmos. Because these Spaniards will figure so largely in the accounts that follow it will be useful to give whatever biographical data is available about them.

Juan Baptista de Segura was born in Toledo in 1529. He studied Latin, Greek and Hebrew at Alcalá where he obtained the degree of Master of Arts. He then studied theology for four years and Sacred

Scripture for two more years before being admitted to the Company of Jesus at Alcalá on April 19, 1556. A few days later he took his first vows. After teaching a few months at Medina del Campo, he went on to Valladolid, where he reviewed his theology at the Dominican priory of San Gregorio. After his ordination in 1557 until the time of his departure for Florida, he was rector of the Jesuit colleges in Villimar near Burgos, Monterey and Valladolid, where he had the reputation of being a zealous preacher.[24] De Segura's appointment to Florida came after he had written to the General several times asking to be sent to the Indies.

Luis Francisco de Quiros was born in Jérez de la Frontera in Andalucía, but the date of his birth and admittance into the Society are unknown. He held various administrative posts in his Province and achieved some success in working among the Moriscos of Albaicín near Granada. He was in the last group to be appointed to the Florida mission, which he reached in June, 1570.[25]

About the three coadjutors who sailed to Ajacan, even less is known. Brother Gabriel Gomez was born in Granada and entered the Society there in 1568. He is listed in the archives of the Province of Toledo as teaching "the third class" at the college in Seville.[26] Brother Sancho Ceballos, who also taught at Seville, was appointed to the mission very soon after his admittance into the Society, which caused Francis Borgia to send a sharp rebuke to his provincial.[27] Brother Pedro Mingot Linares was born in Valencia and entered the novitiate in Rome on May 31, 1564. He was originally destined for the missions in the Portuguese Indies; but was sent with Padro Sedeño to the Florida Mission in the second group which arrived at San Agustín in June 1568.[28] Four catechists went along with the Jesuits. Nothing is known about them except their names given above, and Padre Rogel's testimony that they were received into the Society at Ajacan.[29]

Rather than summarize the events of the fateful expedition as has been done in various accounts of the Segura mission to Virginia up till now,[30] a selection of documents that gives the most immediate testimony will be translated in their entirety. Hitherto they have been available only in excerpts or ignored completely in the standard histories.

Three documents give the details of the Jesuits' activities. The first is a letter written by Padre Quiros immediately on arrival at Ajacan, telling of the high hopes of the Jesuits for their new mission. The second is a part of Padre Rogel's *Relatio,* which gives the details of the deaths of the Jesuit Fathers. Lastly there is a translation of a *Cédula* of Philip II ordering the royal officials of Havana to send aid immediately to the Fathers since Segura had requested food in a letter to the King sent back on the ship that brought the missionaries. Ironically the *Cédula* is dated from Madrid two weeks after the massacre of the Jesuits.

Documents

I. Luis de Quiros to Juan de Hinistrosa, from Ajacan, September 12, 1570.[31]

JHS

My Lord,

The grace of the Holy Spirit be always in your soul. Amen. Since Father Vice-Provincial has no opportunity to write you, because of his concern over despatching the pilot in haste to your land, he has asked me to forward to you in his name an account of our journey up till now.

After being delayed in arriving here much more than we expected by those adversities you understand are usual in the discovery of new regions, and by the discomforts of the weather as the pilot will narrate to you more at length, we arrived here and unloaded our cargo yesterday, which was the tenth day of September. We departed, as you know, on the fifth of August

from Santa Elena. We find the land of Don Luis in quite another condition than we expected. Not because he lied in his description of it, but because our Lord has chastised it with six years of famine and death, which has reduced the population to less than usual. Since many have died and others have moved elsewhere to ease their hunger, there remain but few of the tribe whose leaders say that they wish to die where their fathers have died, although they have no grain, and have not found wild fruit which they are accustomed to eat. Neither rice nor anything else can be had, save for a small amount obtained with great labor from the soil which is very parched. So the Indians have nothing but good will to offer us and those who came on the ship, and certainly these Indians have shown that in a kindly manner. They seemed to think that Don Luis had risen from the dead and come down from heaven, and since all who remained are his relatives, they are greatly consoled in him. They have recovered their courage and hope that God may seek to favor them, saying that they want to be like Don Luis, begging us to remain in this land with them. The chief has kept the brother of Don Luis, a boy of three years who lies seriously ill, six or eight leagues from here and now seems certain to die. He has requested that someone go and baptize him, and so last night Father Vice-Provincial sent one of Ours to baptize the boy so close to death.

As I have said, the Indians are so famished, that all believe they will perish of hunger and cold this winter. For only with great difficulty can they find roots by which they usually sustain themselves, and the great snows found in this land do not allow them to hunt for them. Seeing then the good will that this tribe has shown, we have great hopes for its conversion and of the service of our Lord and His Majesty and (of finding) the entrance into the mountains and to China.[33] Therefore, it has seemed best to Father (Segura) to risk remaining, despite such scanty ship-stores, because on our trip we have consumed two of

the four barrels of biscuit and the small amount of flour which was given to us for the journey. We had to help the entire ship with some supplies, as we were ill-provisioned for the journey.

I am convinced that there will be no lack of opportunity to exercise patience and in order to succeed we must suffer much. But it has seemed good to expose ourselves to that risk and this especially so, since in your kindness you might be able to send us a generous quantity of grain to sustain us and to give the tribe some for sowing. As it touches the service of our Lord and his Majesty, it would be best that you see to it that we are supplied with all speed possible. If it cannot be done in the winter, it is imperative that some provisions arrive any time during March or at the beginning of April so that we can give seeds to the tribe for planting. At this time the planting is done here, and most of the tribe will arrive here after being scattered over the region in search of food, and there will be a good opportunity for the Holy Gospel. Especially has the chief sought this very thing. As to information about the land that touches the route along which the pilot must be brought, he himself will give it. It is not convenient to enter by the river we did, but we did not have as good information from the Indians as was necessary about the place we should have entered. And so, today, the pilot has gone overland two good leagues away to see a river, which he will enter when with good fortune he comes again to help us. Along that place he can go by water up to the place where we plan to make our encampment. To reach this spot, it is two good leagues by land and two others or more by water, so that the goods, which we have unloaded in this place reached by this river where we now are, must be carried by the Indians on their shoulders for two leagues and then embarked in canoes. This is too laborious.

From some Indians, whom we met further down this river, we have some information about the region further inland. Three or four days' journey from here

lie the mountains; for two of these one travels along the river; after crossing the mountains by another day's journey or two, one can see another sea. If any new information can be had with more certainty and clarity, we will get it. Perhaps in making this trip there is a great need for a good boat, since with the famine and death this tribe does not have the canoes in which the trip could be made. The pilot has managed his voyages very well and has toiled in every possible way and has brought all the provisions that we took on at Santa Elena. Moreover seeing the need in which we remain for carrying these provisions overland, he has helped us by giving us a large earthen wine jug for the wine, sacks for transporting the flour and a chisel he brought along. He has also given us half his supply of tar to patch up one of the canoes the Indians have. With the great need of provisions for all the crew, it has been thought necessary that they leave today and we will remain here in this barren region amid the trials mentioned above. So there has not been opportunity to get more information or write further. May God, our Lord, grant you prosperity in all your undertakings in His holy service as you desire.
Given on the twelfth of September, 1570, by order of Father Vice-Provincial

Your Chaplain,
QUIROS

My Lord,

Since I could not do more, I ordered Padre Quiros to give a long account to you of everything. I am writing to His Majesty about the conditions which I find in this region for spreading the Holy Gospel, and about the grave necessity in which we remain in the course of accomplishing our mission. I believe that there will be no need to return, but I must entreat you anew to send us with all speed a shipload of grain, but no other trifles, since you easily see the great importance of this being done at once. It is for the help and protection of the entire tribe, and for the

service of God, our Lord, and His Majesty. I am also writing to His Majesty that you will send on to His Majesty detailed information of the route to Axacan (sic) as it is known. In no way does it seem best to me to send to you any Indian boy as the pilot will explain and for other reasons too. May our Lord protect you unto a long life and favor you in his love and grace.

PADRE BAP. DE SEGURA

JHS

Above I had forgotten to write to you that from the time it is understood that the sloop is to come with the help requested, one or two Indians will be sent with a letter to the mouth of the arm of the sea, along which any ship coming up must sail. Thus, when they see the ship, they will make a large smoke signal by day and a fire by night. Furthermore, the people there will have a sealed letter of yours and they will not return it until they receive another like it, which is to be a sign that those who come are friendly and are the ones who bring the message.[34] Take heed of this sign or inform whoever comes of it. Our letter will carry information about the way which must be followed in entering and will serve as a guide. May our Lord be with you. Amen.

Don Luis has turned out as well as was hoped. He is most obedient to the wishes of Father (Segura) showing deep respect for him, as also to the rest of us here and he commends himself to you and to all your friends and lords.

By a mistake which happened, I don't know who on the crew did it, some one made some sort of a bad bargain in food. I see now the misfortune which followed, namely that whereas formerly the Indians whom we met on the way would give to us from their poverty, now they are afraid when they see that they received no trinkets for their ears of corn. They brought the ears of corn and other foods and asked that they be given something when they handed them over, saying to the Father, that they had done that

with the others. Since Father had forbidden that they be given something, so that they would not be accustomed to receiving it, and afterwards not want to bargain with us, the Indians took the food away with them.[35]

Thus it seemed good to Father (Segura) that he should give an account of this to you since we must live in this land largely with what the Indians give us. Take care that whoever comes here in no wise barters with the Indians, if need be under severe punishments, and if they should bring something to bargain, orders will be given that Don Luis force them to give in return something equal to whatever was bartered, and that they may not deal with the Indians except in the way judged fitting here. Christ, our Lord, be with us all, Amen.

QUIROS

II. Excerpt from a *Relatio of* JUAN ROGEL.[36]

Menéndez then returned from Spain.[37] There he had chanced upon a Christian Indian, a native of Florida, whom some Dominican friars traveling through that country had brought to Mexico, where he was baptized, his sponsor being Don Luis de Velasco, father of the present Viceroy.[38] Thus the Indian son of a petty chieftain of Florida was called Don Luis. The Government brought him back from Spain and he was very crafty, for when he was brought to Padre Baptista (Segura) in Havana, he gave out that he was the son of a great chief, and as such our King in Spain had ordered him given an allowance and clothing. He was well instructed so that he confessed and received Communion and thus it seemed wise that the Vice-Provincial should take him on as an interpreter, and that he should believe that Don Luis brought with him the help which Timothy gave to Saint Paul.[39] Taking the enterprise to heart, Father did not wish to entrust it to any other. Having called a meeting in Santa Elena where Padre Rogel and also Padre Sedeño were, he never wished to discuss who was to go with

Don Luis, and although both Fathers offered to do so as persons experienced in that region, he did not admit them as companions. Instead he had decided beforehand to take with him Padre Quiros and Brother Gabriel Gomez, both recently arrived from Spain, and Brother Sancho de Savallos who was still a novice, and Brother Juan Baptista (Méndez), Pedro de Linares, Christóval Redondo, Gabriel de Solís and other young men who sought to enter the Company. All these went with Don Luis for the conversion of that region of Florida. On entering the province of Ajacan, Don Luis presently fell into evil ways and leaving the Fathers and Brothers to themselves, he took up with women. On the day they arrived at the place the Vice-Provincial told the pilot that after disembarking the cargo, he should sail from the place and return to Havana.

Thus was brought about what came to be the cause of their death; since if they had remained a few days with the ship, with the early experience they acquired about the bad dispositions there and the little fruit which was promised, they might have returned to Santa Elena to wait for a better opportunity. Seeing themselves abandoned and without other resources, they built a small cottage where they might have shelter and say Mass, alone, without any help, enduring great hunger and inconvenience. In order to sustain themselves they went some leagues to the hills, to seek wild fruit[40] and thus they fed themselves for six or seven months. When Don Luis left them, he stayed in a small village which belonged to a relative. This lay about ten leagues from where the Fathers were. As Padre Baptista (Segura) wished to begin preaching and Don Luis did not come and they had no other guide nor means of speaking, Padre Quiros was sent to where the Indian was to ask him to come. Since that unfortunate was now completely corrupted, he told Padre Quiros to go and he would follow after; at night he carried out his plan. For, taking his tribe with him, Don Luis slew Padre Quiros before he reached where Padre Baptista (Segura) stayed. Then

the Indian went on to where Ours were, and he discovered the Vice-Provincial in bed, sick and praying. It seemed that our Lord disposed them for that crisis, because on the eve of our Lady's Purification, all made a general confession and communicated with great devotion. This was learned from a boy, the son of a colonist of Santa Elena, whom the Vice-Provincial took along to serve Mass. His name was Alonso, and because of his youth or by God's design, the Indian did not kill him. This boy described the event and said that when Don Luis arrived with his tribe armed with *macanas* and *botadores*,[42] he greeted Padre Baptista (Segura) who lay as described. But raising his sword and saluting were really one gesture, and so while wishing him well, he killed him. All the rest were murdered too. Then going out in search of Brother Sancho de Savallos who at that time had gone to the hills to get firewood, they slew him there. Only Alonso escaped; and about him it is known that he had a deep desire to die with the Fathers but a brother of Don Luis stopped him by hiding him in a house and locking him up. He was doing a kindness, when others were murdering the Fathers. After the Indians were sated, Don Luis summoned Alonso and told him to show the Indians how to bury the bodies of the Fathers as was the custom of the Christians. And so they dug a grave in the chapel where Mass had been said and there they were buried.

III. Royal *Cédula* of PHILIP II.[43]

The King to our Governor of the island of Cuba or your lieutenant[44] in the said office. Padre Juan Baptista de Segura has written that some religious of the Company of Jesus, and certain catechists and Don Luis de Velasco, an Indian, ten persons in all had reached the provinces of Florida, where they had been obtaining great fruit in the instruction and conversion of the natives there, and at present they intend to continue their teaching; and since they had not gone with provisions they were in great need of being

helped with food and something for planting to improve their situation. As I have before me the spiritual advancement of the said Indians and that so good and holy a work should go ahead, it is my will that the said religious and persons with them be provided with food, and I command that as soon as you see this, you order that there be sent to the religious of the said Company of Jesus and also the persons staying with them in the said provinces of Florida, such grain as you deem necessary for their food and support, according to their needs. In order that they can sow a quantity of this grain as soon as possible, give orders that the supplies be conveyed with all speed. We command that the officials of that island, through your kind effort, pay the cost of the enterprise from their treasury; and we command moreover that (you forward), through your kind efforts, an account signed by the public notary of how the grain was sent and that the sums were received and spent in this business.

Inform us of the measures taken in this regard. Given at Madrid, on the nineteenth of February, fifteen hundred and seventy-one.

I, THE KING

By command of His Majesty, Antonio de Herasso, with the seal of the Council.

The Relief Expedition of 1571

The last letters of Quiros and Segura had reached Havana in the winter of 1570 and the Fathers there became anxious to send help at once. When the weather was favorable in the spring of 1571, Padre Rogel sent on to Ajacan Brother Juan Salcedo and Vicente Gonzales, the pilot of the first voyage of Segura.[45] They found no trace of the missing Jesuits, but they saw some savages walking along the beach in the Jesuit habit. Despite this gruesome incident, Brother Salcedo sailed home still hoping against hope that his brethren were still alive.

Two documents give the story of this voyage. The

first is a continuation of the *Relatio* of Juan Rogel. The second is an excerpt from a *Relatio* composed by Brother Carrera, which although not as trustworthy as the first account, still has the merit of being the recollection of an actual witness, questioned by Carrera.

IV. The *Relatio of* JUAN ROGEL, continued.

The manner in which the death of the Vice-Provincial and his companions was known with certainty was this. Previous to their sailing Padre Rogel, who remained at Santa Elena, was ordered to go to Havana in a few days and beg the Governor and the officials to send some aid. Padre Rogel went to do this and he did the best he could, but because there was only one pilot who knew the port in Ajacan where the Fathers were, and the officials kept that one engaged in other duties, it was impossible to bring help until a year and a half went by. Brother Salcedo, who brought as much provisions as Padre Rogel could gather, was sent with this pilot whose name was Vicente Gonzales. When they arrived and dropped anchor in the harbor, they feared some evil event, and did not want to land on the shore until some of the Company appeared or they had notice of them. As was later learned, Don Luis was very eager for them to land so as to overwhelm and kill them. The Indians, seeing how they were wary and watched for the appearance of the Fathers, used this strategy. Taking the robes of the dead Fathers they put them on and walked along the shore, and the rest of the Indians then called out that the Fathers were there and to come ashore. More confirmed in their doubts, those on the ship decided not to land at all. Meanwhile, some Indians came from the shore to the ship. These were seized and then raising anchor and spreading sail, they started to return with them to Havana. However, when passing through the strait of Bahama, they came quite close to the land, and one of the Indians dove into the water and nothing more was known of him. They took the other in chains

to Havana. They kept him under bonds at the house of the Company in order to return with him to make certain of the facts, (for the Indians did not want to admit anything when they were in the boat) and the one remaining did not divulge the truth.

V. *Relatio* of JUAN DE LA CARRERA, excerpt.[46]

Padre Rogel told the pilot about certain signals that they would see when the ship reached the port, and if the signals were not there, it would indicate that the Fathers were dead. When the pilot came and there were no signals, he was very wary and did not land but before he turned back those on shore called out to them with many signs. Then the pilot cautiously sought to approach the shore. While they (the Spaniards) were coming in there, the Indians planned to surround them in their canoes and to storm the ships. The Spaniards fought on all sides, and the guns they brought along were less useful than a big pile of rocks which the ship carried as ballast. When the Indians saw such a rain of stones fall on them, (since there are no stones in that land, nor do they know what they are), they were forced to retreat with great losses and without two Indian chiefs who were captured. They set sail with the prisoners and without attaining any certain news whether the Fathers were dead or alive, nor was any information given by the Indians.

Pedro Menendez de Aviles Sails To Ajacan, August 1572

As soon as Padre Juan Rogel returned to Havana in the summer of 1571, he gathered together another shipload of supplies and sent them on their way to Ajacan. The ship reached Santa Elena in September of the same year, shortly after the arrival of Governor Menéndez de Avilés with two Jesuits, Padre Sedeño and Brother Villareal. The Governor forbade the supply ship to go any further because of the difficult sailing conditions, giving as an excuse the fact that the

two Indians captured in the summer were needed as guides. Since the garrison at Santa Elena was always short of food, he requisitioned the supplies for the starving Spaniards. Padre Sedeño sent Rogel's ship back to Havana with a letter saying that the relief trip could not be made until the spring of 1572.

The Basque spirit of Rogel could not endure this wait. In Havana he made a deposition against Governor Menéndez before a public notary and then proceeded to pester the officials into sending the ship northward with another load of supplies. When this second load of precious provisions sailed into Santa Elena in the winter of 1571, it was Padre Sedeño's turn to be provoked. In a long letter to the Jesuit General in Rome, the good Padre gave a bitter description of the well meaning efforts of Juan Rogel:

> He caused the officials much annoyance by his requests that the ship be provisioned, not considering, if he considered anything at all, that they could not approach the coast in December . . . He did not realize that all he did was futile and without rhyme or reason, that he did but exasperate the Governor and the officials and alienate them when we needed their favor.[47]

Needless to say, while the Governor was angry over Rogel's independence, he was very glad to receive another load of supplies for the undernourished Spanish garrison.

In the spring of 1572 Padre Rogel again began his efforts to send supplies to Ajacan and learn the fate of Segura and his companions. The documents that follow trace the preparations and the actual expedition to Virginia. In a letter of March 10, 1572, Rogel wrote to Francis Borgia that as yet there were no definite plans. However, on June 27 he wrote jubilantly that Menéndez had arrived in Havana and had agreed to search for the missing Fathers. The next letter, written from the Chesapeake in August, gives complete details on the death of the Jesuits and

on the punishments inflicted on the natives there. Finally we have valuable excerpts from the *Relationes* of Juan Rogel and Brother Carrera which furnish additional details of this last trip to Ajacan.

Documents

VI. JUAN ROGEL to FRANCIS BORGIA, Havana, March 10, 1572, excerpts.[48]

Since the Governor has for his own reasons detained at Santa Elena the ship which was going to Ajacan, it seemed best to me in our Lord, that Brother Carrera be sent to ask the Governor not to delay the trip so long,[49] and to ask Padre Sedeño not to give way to the Governor in a matter so important. I know that he reached San Agustín, where he met Padre Sedeño and the Governor and all three in the same ship set out for this port, but they have never arrived nor has any vessel come from Florida at all since then. We are afraid that some disaster has happened either with the Indians or on the sea, what with the storms that have been blowing. On the other hand we have hope that they have gone back and reached Santa Elena, and so we are only guessing here, at present *inter spem et metum.*

I am alone here with two novice brothers.[50] The school which Padre Baptista (Segura) founded remains standing.[51] I am engaged at present in preaching and hearing confessions. From time to time I stay with a Negro tribe in great need of instruction. I believe that our Lord is served greatly and this land edified, glory to God, and that fruit is seen in that they are no longer as free in vices, and that they are gradually emerging from the great ignorance in which they have been.

VII. JUAN ROGEL to FRANCIS BORGIA, Havana, June 27, 1572.[52]

JHS Most Reverend Father in Christ,

Pax Christi, etc. Five days after Padre Sedeño sailed from this port for New Spain, the Governor ar-

rived and we began to reach an understanding about this journey to Ajacan, to go and search for Ours and get certitude of their fate. Now, glory to God, everything is settled and we are preparing with all speed to leave here on the feast of Saints Peter and Paul.[53] The King's officials have granted more than a thousand ducats from the royal treasury for this trip. Thirty soldiers and sailors are going with all their equipment; they have been payed for three months. Furthermore, there is a supply of provisions to leave behind, when we find those who are in peace and have gathered the harvest.

All this has been provided under a condition, namely, after finishing our trip we will not return here by a direct route, but it is more to the service of the King—since he is financing the voyage—for us to go to the Isles of the Azores. The Governor gives no reason, but I have understood that he wants this pilot to sail close to Spain, and learn if there are corsairs lurking before the treasure fleet sails. I resisted that as much as possible, but "beggars can't be choosers." There are no ships at present suitable for our trip as planned except those in the Governor's command. One purchased for this purpose was declared by the pilot to be unsuitable because it had too deep a draught. Since there is no other useful ship in the harbor, we are forced to agree to the conditions that the Governor placed. He has given me his word that he will send me back from there, but I fear that he will arrange the trip in such a way that he will take me to Spain. Because of his desire to take one of Ours with him, I believe that with the Lord granting a good voyage, this letter and the writer will arrive together in Spain. So I have decided to persuade some one (on the crew) to return directly to Havana, if the Governor does not go in search of Ours. But from his many assurances here, I don't think he will give up the search.

After arriving at Santa Elena, the Lord willing, I will send here Brothers Juan de la Carrera and Francisco de Villareal who are staying there. When

leaving, Padre Sedeño ordered this. Thus we will all await together the decision of Father Provincial in Havana.

Nothing else presents itself to write to your Paternity, except to beg as insistently as I can, a remembrance in the holy sacrifices and prayers of your Paternity and the entire Company.

God our Lord grant your Paternity His Holy Spirit and an increase of His divine grace and gifts so that you may certainly fulfill His divine will, Amen.

Your Paternity's unworthy son and servant in Our Lord,

JUAN ROGEL

VIII. JUAN ROGEL to FRANCIS BORGIA, Bay of the Mother of God, (Chesapeake) August 28, 1572.[54]

JHS My very Reverend Father in Christ,

At the end of last June, I wrote to your Paternity from Havana, giving an account of how, under an order of holy obedience, I made ready to make this journey in search of Ours who had come to these parts, although I wrote that on the completion of the voyage that I had to go to the Azores, because the fleet of the Governor was going to Spain. But when Menéndez reached San Agustín he changed his plans. He decided to make this trip in person along with his fleet, and on completing it to give me a ship in which I might go back to the Island of Cuba. Thus on July 30, we left San Agustín and after staying at Santa Elena for five days, we arrived here at the Bay of Madre de Dios; with me are Brothers Juan de la Carrera and Francisco de Villareal and the small store of supplies we had on Santa Elena. After this we will all go to Havana to await the order of Father Provincial since Padre Sedeño would order me to do that.

Reaching this bay, the Governor immediately ordered that we were to search for Alonso, who is the boy who came with Padre Baptista (Segura). He is still alive according to what we hear from one of the Indians of this region whom the pilot captured

on his second trip. This Indian has come along in chains. Anchoring the fleet in a port of this bay, the Governor sent an armed *fragatilla* with thirty soldiers to a fresh water stream where Ours disembarked when they came here. This place is twenty leagues from this port. It was decided to take the bound native in my company since he knew the language. The order of the Governor was to take a principal chieftain of that region, the uncle of Don Luis, as well as some leading Indians. On taking them, we were to ask them to give us the boy and we would let them go. Everything happened in excellent fashion, for within an hour he took the chieftain with five of his leaders and some eight other Indians.

This was the method of capture. After anchoring in the middle of the narrow stream, Indians soon appeared on the bank and some entered the boat. To these the Spaniards gave gifts and made some exchanges. When they left the boat very contentedly, others arrived. With a third group came the chief and his leaders; one of them wore a silver paten, that Ours had brought, as a decoration or trinket. At once the Spaniards seized them and forced them down into the boat and dressing the ship, passed to the mouth of the stream three leagues away by oar. On the way, the soldiers killed some Indians who were trying to shoot arrows at us and had wounded a soldier.

At the mouth of the river which was very wide, we anchored again an arquebus shot away from the shore. Canoes of Indians came in peace, and they said that the boy was in the hands of a leading chieftain who lived two days journey from there, near this port. They asked that we give them time to send for him and bring him. This we did, and we gave them trinkets to give the cacique who held the boy and we stayed there waiting for him. It seems that as soon as the chieftain learned of the capture of the others and about the fleet and the imminent death of the Indians, he sought to curry favor with the Governor. For he did not want to let the boy be

brought to our ship but he sent him to this port with two Indians.[56] It is a marvelous thing in how short a time the Governor learned what was happening there from the mouth of the boy.

When the Indians did not bring the boy, we fought off an ambush of many canoes loaded with archers ready to attack the vessel. First there came two large canoes filled with Indians who were so concealed that no one was seen except the two who steered, and they pretended they brought us oysters. Before they got aboard, the watchman discovered them. We made ready and the others retreated. At my request, the steersmen were not fired upon, for we were still not certain whether it was an ambush or whether they came in peace. When the time was up and the boy did not come, we waited for a night and further into midday and finally we set sail with our captives. By way of farewell, the pilot steered the ship towards land with the excuse that he wanted to speak to them and then he ordered a blast from the arquebuses against the group of Indians who were standing crowded together on the shore. I believe many of them were killed, and this was done without my knowledge until it happened. Then we returned to the port where the Governor was.

Now I want to give your Paternity an account of the death suffered by Ours who were here, as this boy tells it. After they arrived there, Don Luis abandoned them, since he did not sleep in their hut more than two nights nor stay in the village where the Fathers made their settlement for more than five days. Finally he was living with his brothers a journey of a day and a half away. Father Master[57] Baptista (Segura) sent a message by a novice brother on two occasions to the renegade. Don Luis would never come, and Ours stayed there in great distress for they had no one by whom they could make themselves understood to the Indians. They were without means of support and no one could buy grain for them. They got along as best they could, going to other

villages to barter with copper and tin, until the beginning of February.

The boy says that each day Padre Baptista (Segura) caused prayers to be said for Don Luis, saying that the devil held him in great deception. As he had twice sent for him and he had not come, Segura decided to send Padre Quiros and Brother Gabriel de Solis and Brother Juan Baptista (Menéndez) to the village of the chieftain near to where Don Luis was staying. Thus they could take Don Luis along with them and barter for grain on the way back. On the Sunday after the feast of the Purification, Don Luis came to the three Jesuits who were returning with other Indians. He sent an arrow through the heart of Padre Quiros and then murdered the rest who had come to speak to him. Immediately Don Luis went on to the village where the Fathers were, and with great quiet and dissimulation, at the head of a large group of Indians he killed the five who waited there.

Don Luis himself was the first to draw blood with one of those hachets which were brought for trading with the Indians; then he finished the killing of Padre Segura with his axe and his companions finished off the others. This boy says that when he saw them killing the Fathers and Brothers, he sought to go among the Indians as they inflicted wounds and thus they might kill him too. For it seemed better to him to die with Christians than live alone with Indians. A brother of Don Luis took him by the arm and did not let him go. This happened five or six days after the death of the others. This boy then told Don Luis to bury them since he had killed them, and at least in their burial he was kind.

The boy stayed in the same hut for two weeks. Because of the famine in the land, Don Luis told him that they should go and seek grain. Alonso came in this way to the chief where he remained. This chief told the boy to stay and he would treat him well and hold him as a son. This he did. Finally Don Luis distributed the clothes of the Fathers between himself

and his two brothers who shared in the murders. The boy took nothing but the relics and beads of Padre Baptista (Segura) which he kept till now and handed over to us. After this Don Luis went away very anxious to get hold of the boy to kill him, so that there would be no one to give details of what happened to Ours, but because of his fear of the chieftain with whom the boy was staying, he gave up the idea.

When he had learned the truth, the Governor decided to act. He told the captured chief that he must bring in Don Luis and his two brothers for punishment, and if he did not do this, the Governor would punish all those captured. Since three had been killed in that chief's land, he could not escape blame for the murders. The chief promised that he would bring them within five days. We are waiting for this time to elapse, and I am not sure whether the Governor will send us on our trip to the Island of Cuba before the time is up. He will report in Spain, God willing, whatever action he will have taken. The country remains very frightened from the chastisement the Governor inflicted, for previously they were free to kill any Spaniards who made no resistance. After seeing the opposite of what the Fathers were, they tremble. This chastisement has become famous throughout the land, and if this further one is done, it will be all the more famous.

I have noticed a few things about this region. There are more people here than in any of the other lands I have seen so far along the coast. It seemed to me that the natives are more settled than in other regions I have been and I am confident that should Spaniards settle here, provided they would frighten the natives that threaten harm, we could preach the Holy Gospel more easily than elsewhere. We are keeping this boy with us. He is very fluent in the language and has almost forgotten his Spanish. After he was freed from captivity, we asked him if he wished to be with us or go with his father who is also here. He said he wanted to be with us only.

(Padre Rogel then added in the margin: "I was deceived in this, because he had been much spoiled after living with the Indians. He does not want to be with us, he is not suitable.")

In order to make sure that he retains the language and does not forget it, I am debating whether to bring along with me an Indian boy, who has come along with Alonso, leaving his parents and home to be with him. Thus he might train in the language unless meanwhile your Paternity or Father Provincial order otherwise.

For my part, I can say to your Paternity that if it is judged in our Lord that this enterprise ought to be begun and if you desire that the task should fall to me, I would consider myself most fortunate. I fear that there will be the same difficulty among these people making conversions, as has been found in the places where we have been. If there is to be some fruit here, it will have to be wearing them away like water on a rock. I believe there are less inconveniences and difficulties than in lands where I have already been. First, because the country is so cold, there will be no reason for long absences away from their huts in winter. Also it appears to me that there are more tribes and more natives in this region than in others where I have dwelt.

When this boy was with Don Luis, following the death of the others (Fathers), Don Luis left the vestments and books and everything else locked up in a chest, and on returning they took up their share of spoils. He said that a brother of Don Luis is going around clothed in the Mass vestments and altar cloths. The captured chief told me that Don Luis gave the silver chalice to an important chief in the interior. The paten was given to one of those Indians we captured while the other images were thrown away. Among other things there was a large crucifix in a chest; some Indians told this boy that they do not dare approach that chest, since three Indians who wanted to see what was in it fell down dead on the spot. So they keep it closed and protected. About the

books, Alonso said that after pulling off the clasps, the Indians tore them all up and threw them away.

If I should learn any other details, whether those sent out by the Governor bring in Don Luis and his companions, I will write them from Havana to your Paternity, when in Our Lord's pleasure, we arrive there.[58]

As I cannot think of anything else to write, I close, commending myself to the holy sacrifices and prayers of your Paternity and of the Fathers and Brothers of the Company. God Our Lord grant your Paternity His Holy Spirit for all success in fulfilling His divine will.

Given at the Bay of Madre de Dios, August 28, 1572.

Your Paternity's unworthy son and servant in our Lord,

JUAN ROGEL

IX. *Relatio* of JUAN DE LA CARRERA, excerpt.[59]

After the Governor had given orders for the preparations, the entire company of soldiers sailed in three ships. We touched land in the Bay of Madre de Dios. In that harbor we discovered an excellent vineyard arranged and cultivated like vineyards in Spain, set up in a barren spot. The vines were burdened with many white grapes and these were large and fully ripened: we gave much thanks that the Lord had kept them there waiting for us. Similarly, beyond the large vineyard were a number of trees of plums and persimmons, like those in Spain, all rich in fruit, so that we picked and ate them on our journey which was very pleasant, thanks be to God.

X. *Relatio of* JUAN ROGEL, continued.

As the fate of the Fathers was still not known with certainty, and the Governor was returning to Spain, he decided to travel by way of Florida and bring in his company Padre Rogel and Brothers Carrera and Villareal. Arriving at the harbor, the Governor landed with a band of soldiers and he was

most anxious to know the fate of the Fathers and punish the offenders. After seizing some of those Indians who had aided Don Luis and learning the facts, he decided to punish eight or nine of them. Padre Rogel, with the assistance of Alonso who served as interpreter, catechized and baptized them after which they were hanged from the rigging of the Governor's ship. After justice was done, Padre Rogel asked the Governor to order some soldiers of his guard to go to the burial site of the Fathers and remove the bodies and gather up the vestments, but since the Governor was on the point of leaving for (Spain) and winter approached, he could not remain to fulfill this wish but he promised to return within a year and come for the bodies.[60]

On this occasion we learned of a miracle which happened with the sacred vestments of the Fathers when they were killed. There was a certain Indian eager for spoil who came on a box where the Fathers kept the sacred vestments for saying Mass, and in it was a crucifix. When he wanted to break and smash the box so as to drag out its contents, he dropped dead right there; then another Indian tried to force it open and had a similar fate. A third Indian who had no warning from the two unfortunates, sought to break open the chest also, but he was a companion in their death. As a result, the rest dared not approach the box any more. After this the Indians kept it carefully and would not dare touch it. Little Alonso and also some old soldiers who came from Florida and had been on Ajacan told this to Padre Rogel.

Conclusion

After the fate of the nine members of the Ajacan mission was known, the few remaining Jesuits of the Florida mission returned to Havana, from whence the Provincial, Pedro Sanchez, ordered them to proceed to the missions of New Spain. The massacre of the missionaries was viewed as a divine

favor, as can be seen by the documents quoted; to their brethren, Juan Baptista de Segura and his companions were privileged. The first Jesuit mission in the Spanish colonies had been a very costly failure, but its ending made it a glorious one.

There were many circumstances working against the success of their labors. The Indians of Florida were constantly on the move, and if they settled for a time near the Spanish forts, the starving garrisons had no alternative but to oppress them to get food. This made it even harder for the Spanish missionaries to create good will. The province of Florida was hardly an ideal site for evangelizing during these years of the governorship of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. Thus J. T. Connor summarizes the condition of the province: "One can never lose sight of the desolation and misery existing in the colony, insecurity against Indians, pirates and possibly more legitimate European aggression, the niggardly aid given by the mother country and the paucity of native products." [61]

Pedro Menéndez himself shortly before his death wrote a lengthy report on the province of Florida. He described the great injuries the warlike Indians were doing to the scattered settlements.[62] His solution was to enslave the Indians so as to be able to handle them more easily with his scattered forces. The hatred of the Spanish such a move would have produced would hardly have made the preaching of the Gospel any easier. His plan was not adopted.

A few years later the Franciscans came to the province of Florida, where they began their splendid missionary endeavors, somehow overcoming the difficulties that had prevented effective evangelization before.[63] The experience of six years of labor and suffering were a valuable training for the Jesuits in New Spain. There the lessons learned in Florida, Georgia and Virginia coupled with the zeal of the early Blackrobes produced a rich harvest. Padre Segura and his companions had not laid down their lives in vain.

NOTES

[1]The political and economic background of the Florida mission is given in Felix Zubillaga, *La Florida, La Mision Jesuitica y la colonizacion espagñola* (Rome, 1941), pp. 19-99.

[2]H. E. Bolton, "Defensive Spanish Expansion and the Significance of the Borderlands," *The Trans-Mississippi West* (Boulder, 1930), p. 14.

[3]Verne E. Chatelain, *The Defenses of Spanish Florida* (Washington, 1941), p. 14.

[4]An excellent account of his life is in Jeanette Thurber Connor's introduction to *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés by Solís de Merás* (Deland, 1923).

[5]Bolton, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

[6]Eugenio Ruidiaz y Caravia, *La Florida, su conquista y colonizacion* (Madrid, 1893), II, 419. The Bishop of Popoyan, Agustino de la Coruña, had requested the *Consejo de Indas* in 1564 to permit the Fathers in his diocese. *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, Borgia* III, 786.

[7]Borgia to Menéndez, May 12, 1565, *Monumenta Missionum Societatis Jesu*, III, "Monumenta Antiquae Floridae, 1566-1574" (Felix Zubillaga, ed. Rome, 1946). Hereafter cited *M.A.F.*

[8]Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States, 1562-1574* (New York, 1911), pp. 155-185.

[9]Borgia to Gil Gonzales, Provincial of Toledo, Rome, Nov. 28, 1565, *M.A.F.* pp. 19-21; Borgia to Diego Carrillo, Provincial of Castile, Rome, Nov. 29, 1565, *M.A.F.*, pp. 21-23.

[10]Carrillo to Borgia, Salamanca, April 28, 1566, *M.A.F.*, pp. 57-61.

[11]F. Zubillaga, "Pedro Martinez, 1533-1566," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, VII (1938), pp. 30-35.

[12]Villareal to Rogel, Tegesta, Jan. 25, 1568, and Rogel to Borgia, Havana, July 25, 1658, in Ruban Vargas Ugarte, "First Jesuit Mission in Florida," United States Catholic Historical Society, *Records and Studies*, XXV, pp. 75-79, 81-86.

[13]Francisco Javier Alegre, *Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en Nueva España*, (Mexico, 1841) I, 14-22, gives details of the famine and deaths that forced the Spanish to leave.

[14]Born in Pamplona in 1529, he studied medicine at Alcala and Valencia. He entered the Society in Valencia in 1554 and after studying theology at Gandía, he was ordained in 1559. He labored in Toledo as a preacher and confessor until leaving for Florida in 1566. Zubillaga, *La Florida*, pp. 231-234. An excellent biography of Rogel may be found in R. Griffin, "The Padre of the Ports," *Mid-America*, XXX (1948), 3-43.

[15]Woodbury Lowery, II, 348-353.

[16]Rogel to Menéndez, Havana, Dec. 9, 1570, *M.A.F.*, pp. 471-479.

[17]Segura to Borgia, Santa Elena, Dec. 18, 1569, Ugarte, *op. cit.* p. 109; Sedeño to Borgia, Guale, March 6, 1570, *M.A.F.*, pp. 421-428.

[18]Borgia to Segura, Rome, Sept. 7, 1570, *M.A.F.*, pp. 437.

[19]Borgia to Menéndez, Rome, Dec. 8, 1570, *M.A.F.*, pp. 468-470. Segura had written that Menéndez was afraid of losing his command because of the failure of the Conquest of Florida and wished the Jesuits to be merely chaplains for his soldiers. Segura to Borgia, Dec. 18, 1569, *M.A.F.*, pp. 408-411.

[20]Ajacan was the name given to a region, as was Guale, and it may well have embraced the whole area from the 36th to the 39th parallel. "El Jacan is on the coastal latitude of 36°, the English are at present at latitude 37°," reads a Spanish report of the English colony at Roanoke. Cf. Katherine Reding, "Letter of Gonzalo M. de Canco, June 28, 1600," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, VIII, 214-228. Vasquez de Espinosa in his "Compendium and Description of the West Indies," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Vol. 102, p. 109 places "Virginia or Xacal, an English settlement" 160 leagues from San Augustín, which might mean anything from 450 to 640 miles. Lowery, *op. cit.*, pp. 458-459 cites several sources identifying the Bay of Santa Maria or Ajacan with the Chesapeake. He believes that the Jesuits' story could be as easily reconstructed for the James, York and other tributaries as for the Potomac and Rappahannock.

[21]Some years previously the Dominicans had traveled through the region. See V. F. O'Daniel, *Dominicans in Early Florida* (New York, 1930), p. 203.

[22]*The Relatio* of Juan de la Carrera, written in 1600, presents the Fathers at Santa Elena urging Segura not to go. There is no mention of disagreements before or after the departure for Ajacan. *M.A.F.*, pp. 553-554.

[23]Rogel to Menéndez, Havana, Dec. 9, 1570, *M.A.F.*, pp. 471-479.

[24]Zubillaga, *La Florida*, pp. 317-319.

[25]*Ibid.*, p. 392.

[26]See Avellaneda to Borgia, Seville, Feb. 10, 1570, *M.A.F.*, pp. 412-413. On entering the Society, he was described as a *gramatico muy approvechado*, Zubillaga, *La Florida*, p. 393, note 7.

[27]Borgia to Segura, Rome, Nov. 14, 1570; Borgia to Juan de Cañas, Provincial of Andalucia; *M.A.F.*, pp. 459 and 466.

[28]Zubillaga, *La Florida*, p. 326.

[29]John Tate Lanning in his *Spanish Missions in Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1935), p. 246 states that five Jesuits reached Ajacan; Fathers Segura and Quiros and Brothers Méndez, de Sólis and Gomez. "There is no evidence to indicate that Redondo, Linares and Cevallos ever went to Virginia." Using

the sources that Dr. Lanning had available his conclusion would be correct, but the hitherto unpublished letter of Juan Rogel of August 1572 and again in his *Relatio* of 1607 the names used in this article are found. Both documents are translated below. Even more significant is the fact that while the catechists are referred to as *mancebos de doctrina* in Rogel to Menéndez, Dec. 9, 1570 (*M.A.F.*, pp. 471-479), two years later in his August letter Rogel gives each the title *Hermano,* which is reserved to a religious throughout this correspondence.

[30]A general account may be found in Michael Kenny's *Romance of the Floridas* (Milwaukee, 1934), pp. 269-297. To supplement the sources here translated, two *Relationes* are available. That of Bartolomé Martinez is translated by Ugarte in *Records and Studies* XXV, pp. 129-148. Another by Luis G. de Ore includes an account of the Jesuit martyrs in a history of the Franciscan Martyrs of Guale of 1597. See "The Martyrs of Florida," *Franciscan Studies,* No. 18 (July, 1936).

[31]*Buckingham Smith Papers,* II, New York Historical Society. At the end of the copy is written "Carefully corrected by the original. Seville, July 14, 1889. B. Smith." Zubillaga believes the letter was sent in December 1570, because it mentions that the missionaries discovered the land covered with snow, *La Florida,* p. 393 note 16. This contradicts the evidence of the explicit date in the letter and Rogel's *Relatio* which says that the Fathers gathered a store of wild berries "y desta manera se sustentaron seis o seite meses." *M.A.F.*, p. 612.

[32]Juan de Hinistrosa was the son of Emanuel Rojas, the Governor of Cuba from 1525 to 1538. In 1555 Hinistrosa was made Governor of Havana and in 1565 he was royal treasurer of the island of Cuba. Cf. Ruidiaz, *La Florida,* II, 116. He was a loyal friend of the Jesuits during the Florida mission of the Society, see Segura to Borgia, Havana, Nov. 18, 1568, *M.A.F.*, p. 361.

[33]This was the firm conviction of Menéndez also. In 1565 he wrote to Borgia: "This land of Florida should be connected with Tartary and China, or there should be an arm of the sea which separates and divides the one from the other, and by which one may go to China and Maluco and return to the land of Florida whence they departed." *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu,* Borgia III, p. 762.

[34]While John Gilmary Shea was certain that the Jesuits had landed on the Rappahannock [Cf. *The Catholic World,* XX (1875), 847-856.] and Father Kenny in the *Romance of the Floridas* supported this hypothesis definitely, the evidence seems to point to another pattern of rivers and creeks for the

actual location of the mission. Upon entering the Chesapeake, the Jesuits landed near Newport News and said Mass. They then proceeded up the James River to College Creek, known earlier as Archer's Hope Creek. This creek was navigable for barges even in the eighteenth century. "Two good leagues overland" from this stream is Queen's Creek where the Chiskiak Indians were located. There were also villages across from here on the north side of the York River. Don Luis was probably a member of the Chiskiak Indians. The boy Alonso de Olmos who was later rescued probably stayed with the Kecoughtan Indians near Point Comfort. This explains his easy escape to the Spaniards in 1572.

It should here be noted that this scheme is based not so much on the letters of the Jesuits as on two later writers who mention the harbor where the Jesuits landed and then describe it in recognizable detail. See a relation by Fray Luis de Oré edited by Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., *Franciscan Studies* No. 18, (1936) 44-48; Louis Scisco "The Voyage of Vincente Gonzalez in 1588," *Maryland Historical Society Magazine*, XXII (1947), 95-100. The last gives valuable evidence on a later voyage by Menéndez Marques. Ruidiaz y Caravia, *La Florida*, II, 502 has a good description of the harbor. Some details are added by Solís de Meras in his *Memorial*, cf. *Colonial Records of Florida*, I, 208.

[35]The Fathers seemed determined that the disputes over barter that occurred previously at Santa Elena would not harm their work at the new mission.

[36]Text is in *M.A.F.*, pp. 611-615. The autograph of this history is lost. But Juan Sanchez, in his *Historia Novae Hispaniae ab anno 1571 ad 1580*, includes it in his manuscript. See Zubillaga's introduction to the document in *M.A.F.*, pp. 604-606, in which he dates its composition between the years 1607 and 1611.

[37]The fall of 1570.

[38]Don Luis de Velasco was Viceroy of New Spain from 1550 to 1564. His son of the same name from 1590 to 1595, and from 1607 to 1611.

[39]Romans 16:21 and I Corinthians 4:7.

[40]*Nísperos*, persimmons literally, may be taken here for wild plums and fruit. Four decades later John Smith described the rich vegetation of Virginia and his experiences with the persimmon. 'Plums there are of three sorts. The red and white are like our hedge plums, but the other which they call Putchamins, grow as high as a Palmeta; the fruit is like a Medler; it is first green, then yellow and red when it is ripe; if it be not ripe, it will draw a man's mouth awry with much torment, but when it is ripe, it's as delicious as an apricot." Captaine John Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England and*

the Summer Isles (Glasgow, 1907), I, 53.

[41]From other accounts, we know two others were along; Gabriel de Solís and Juan Baptista Méndez. Cf. Rogel to Borgia, Aug. 28, 1572.

[42]A *macana* was a wooden sword or cudgel, a *botador* was a heavy staff or lance.

[43]The autograph is in *Archivo de Indas*, Santo Domingo, leg. 2828 f.16. the text is in *M.A.F.*, pp. 642-643.

[44]Menéndez Marques, nephew of Pedro Menéndez de Avilés.

[45]Gabriel de Cardenas y Cano, *Ensayo cronologico para la historia general de la Florida* (Madrid, 1723), p. 143 corroborates the fact that this voyage was made.

[46]This history was written in Mexico in 1600 by order of Bartolomé Perez, the Provincial. The autograph is in the Archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome, *Historia Societatis* 177, ff.152-161. Text is in *M.A.F.*, p. 561.

[47]The details of the two extra voyages are given in the same letter, Sedeño to Borgia, Santa Elena, Feb. 8, 1572, Ugarte, *Records and Studies*, XXV, 112-116.

[48]The autograph is in the Archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome, *Hispania*, 116 ff.183-184. Text is in *M.A.F.*, pp. 513-514.

[49]Carrera sailed on the second futile trip to Santa Elena.

[50]Ruiz de Salvatierra and Juan de Salcedo, who was the first lay brother to enter the Society in the New World.

[51]This college was started to educate the sons of the native chieftains from Florida. See Zubillaga, *La Florida*, p. 395. The college had few students and for lack of support was closed in 1577. See *M.A.F.*, pp. 617-625.

[52]Autograph in Archives of the Society of Jesus, Rome, *Hispania* 116, f. 387. Text is in *M.A.F.*, pp. 521-523.

[53]June 29.

[54]The autograph is in the Archives of the Province of Toledo of the Society of Jesus, 1157 ff. 496-497. Text is in *M.A.F.*, pp. 523-530. For the identity of the Bay of Madre de Dios with the Chesapeake see Juan López de Velasco *Geografía y Descripcion universal de las Indias, 1571-1574* (Justo Zaragoza, ed., Madrid, 1894), p. 172.

[55]Padre Pedro Sanchez was Provincial of New Spain and the actual superior of the Florida mission. In the absence of Padre Segura, Antonio Sedeño was acting Vice Provincial for Florida.

[56]The chief did not give the boy to Rogel's exploring party, but sent him directly to the Governor's ship.

[57]It was customary in the early days of the Company to retain the title of "Master" if one possessed the degree of Master of Theology.

[58]This letter, if written at all, has not been discovered.

[59]Text is in *M.A.F.*, p. 565. The *Relatio* of Brother Carrera gives fewer details than Juan Rogel's. The incidents in this excerpt are surely colored by the imagination of one writing thirty years after the event. The description of the vineyard is not confirmed elsewhere.

[60]The journey was never made, Governor Menéndez died in Spain in 1574.

[61]Jeanette Thurber Connor, *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida* (Deland 1925), II, xxvii.

[62]*Ibid.*, I, 31-81. Document VIII "Report of the Adelantado," Madrid, 1574.

[63]M. Geiger, "Early Franciscans in Florida" in *Colonial Hispanic America* (C. Wilgus, ed., Washington, 1936), pp. 538-550.

Work Among the Russians in France

The Society has re-established in Meudon in France the *Internat Saint-Georges* which was located at Namur in Belgium before World War II. Seven Fathers and two Brothers manage the *internat* which is the residence of 132 Russian boys. The older boys attend classes at the "Ecole d'Artois," an extern school in the town of Meudon, and the younger boys attend classes held in the *internat.* A number of day-students also come to these classes which are taught by two Jesuits, a secular priest and a layman. The institution possesses a beautiful chapel where Mass can be celebrated according to the Russo-Byzantine rite. The crypt of the chapel is used for the celebration of Mass according to the Roman rite.

The *internat* also runs a summer camp on the shores of Lake Geneva. Last year 72 boys spent the summer there and a number of Russian families rented rooms in the neighboring village and came to take their meals at the camp. The camp has become a little Russian summer colony where contacts can be made with the Orthodox which, it is hoped, will lead eventually to their conversion.

OBITUARY

FATHER GEORGE F. JOHNSON

1874-1948

All who knew Father George Johnson will realize how difficult it is to give an account of his life. Retiring, socially shy, personally reserved, he would wither anyone who would attempt to pierce that reserve. Of his fifty-six years in the Society, he spent forty-four in the classroom. Despite long years of frail health, he taught regularly, even up to two weeks before his death at the age of seventy-four. Externally, his faithful devotion to the work of the Society was his observable characteristic. He contributed nothing to the published work of his field. No record of his work is extant, but the generations of his students are the witnesses of his achievement. Upon them his influence was profound and lasting, and despite a severity in his demand for exact work, there are few if any who will not admit that he was the greatest teacher they ever had.

A surface appraisal, then, would emphasize his faithfulness, his heroic devotion to the teaching apostolate of the Society, and this despite weak health that would have made many a man an invalid. But the qualities that characterized him were his honesty and his integrity,—his work was honest, his opinions were honest, no matter how limited they might be, or how severely and at times savagely expressed. He was always himself, and this virtue of sterling integrity is sufficiently rare in our earthly pilgrimage

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Owing to various circumstances, this is an inadequate notice on Father Johnson. It should have been written by one of his own generation. The loving devotion of his Jesuit brother to him preserved, it seems, the reticence that Father Johnson would have wished, and there are few personal details of his early and later life. This account has been made up of comments offered chiefly by his former students, and the writer has acted merely as editor in arranging material supplied by others.

M. J. F.

to warrant remembrance and recording. What has been said of another great teacher by his students is permanently true of Father George Johnson, "He gave himself to us and we are the custodians of his memory."

The chronological details of his life, received from his brother, Father Robert Johnson, S.J., may be set forth in briefest outline. He was born in New York City in 1874, and his first three years of schooling were at a public school, where his mother was principal. His mother, it is said, was the first woman principal in the New York City public school system. In 1892, after finishing sophomore year at St. Francis Xavier's College, he entered the Society at Frederick, Maryland. The long years of teaching the classics and English were spent as follows: three years at Holy Cross College, six years at Fordham College, thirteen years in the juniorate at St. Andrew-on-Hudson, and the remaining seventeen years at St. Peter's College, Jersey City. During his regency at Fordham, 1901-1904, he taught chemistry and mathematics; an interesting item in the life of one who was to be, eminently, a teacher of literature. The first indications of weak health appeared during his years of philosophy in 1897, when he was forced to interrupt his studies for two years of teaching. In 1904 a severe illness left him with weakened lungs from which he was to suffer all his life. What may be called his "ministerial work" was limited to the confessional, at the colleges, at convents, and later at the parish church at St. Peter's. There is sufficient testimony to show that these years in the confessional won countless penitents through the confessor's deep sympathy and understanding. It may be mentioned that for twenty-five successive years he was one of the confessors at all the summer retreats for the sisters at the motherhouse at Mt. St. Vincent, New York.

His memory is preserved at St. Peter's College by the recent dedication of The Geo. F. Johnson Library in the newly erected McDermott Hall, and an oil

portrait of him, the gift of former students, is in the library. In addition to his teaching, he had been librarian for some thirty years, and naming a library after him is a deserving remembrance of his lifelong love of books and of his devotion to their care.

How difficult it is to write a proper tribute to this remarkable priest who spent, quietly and intensely, forty-four years in the classroom! On advertence, one would recall that Father Johnson was not "trained" in his subject. All the more remarkable, then, that he acquired a broad and deep knowledge of the classics. No doubt he felt this lack of scientific training, which would have enabled him to contribute to his field, which is one of the modern emphases in preparing Jesuits by advanced studies. That he did realize what the advantage would have been to him is revealed in a quiet remark to a student of his in the juniorate, who was assigned in 1923 to study classics at Oxford. When the student came to see Father Johnson before sailing for England, and they discussed his future work, Father Johnson said, ". . . that is what I would have wanted to do." A trifling remark, but significant from one who ever concealed his personal thoughts.

Inasmuch as we have nothing in print by Father Johnson, the following selection may be an example of his incisive expression and of his definite views on teaching Latin. It is from a letter to a Province official in 1925.

> Probably you expect a winged word from me anent the "why" of our Latin. Well, I will be brief and candid. Personally I never had any doubt as to why I was teaching Latin, and at present I cannot see how anyone of us can have. My credo is clear:
>
> 1. To teach the language itself—grammar, syntax, idiom—as a mental training in accuracy and logic.
> 2. To teach translation in a dead tongue, the most completely annotated and explained of any save Greek. This to give English vocabulary, roots, sense of word-values.
> 3. To teach something of a literature that has spoken for itself for two thousand years and will do so till the barbarians have the swing of the pendulum.
>
> Whether any given class gain these results or do not

gain them, has never had anything to do with my teaching of Latin. I am sure that Latin produces these results, conditioned in degree, of course, by my ability as a teacher and my class receptivity. It does in fact produce them just as well as any subject of any class produces its results. Our students do not know one iota more about English, chemistry, mathematics, than of Latin. Hence, the "result" fallacy never obscures my conviction as to why I teach Latin. I hold the linguistic element essential. I am totally opposed to *over-emphasis* on interest. And I cannot see at all why we want a Classical Association in the Province; the whole Province should be a C.A.

A Jesuit who, when a student at Fordham, knew him in the years 1914 onwards, sends this comment:

"Although I was not in his class, his reputation as the best teacher on the campus was common knowledge. He had a heavy teaching schedule, was moderator of the College magazine, and in charge of the library. He became my spiritual director, and I was fortunate beyond expectation in his care. My hundred and one scruples found in him an almost feminine tenderness of treatment, joined with a tact and forbearance rarely matched. Of these priceless conversations which made a Jesuit of me, despite the steady and unrelenting contrary arguments he proposed, I can only say that anything he said to force me to sound myself and assure myself of the correcness of my decision, was answered in my mind by his own life of order, precision, and of complete fulfillment of his obligations. The spectacle of his reserved and soldier-like performance of the tasks assigned him, without show or display of any sort, moved me more than all books or printed matter to enter the Society. He tested me severely, by seeming to imply that I should not or could not be a Jesuit. As a matter of fact he did me the greatest service this side of Heaven. If anything was calculated to soften his Purgatory, I am sure that his patience during the three weekly visits I made to his unencumbered and spotlessly clean room, is the penance that did it. His manliness, his detestation of cant, his forthrightness, his fierce defense of the underdog, were to me the

epitome of all I wanted to find in a Jesuit. A life of order and of strong devotion to duty, free from all ostentation and humbug, summarize for me George Johnson. May his great and good soul rest in peace!"

One of his former students, now a lawyer in New York, continues the praise.

"The test of a man's greatness lies not only in what he did, but in the way he did it. The quality of a memory is not measured by its vividness but by its poignancy. This is the epitaph inscribed in my heart under the name of Father George Johnson.

"I had heard of Father Johnson before I donned the blue and white cap of a St. Peter's College freshman in 1934. The legend of his freshman classical course, like the grace of God, had given me the strength to decide to undertake four years of commuting from the Bronx to Jersey City. It would have taken a most extraordinary teacher to fulfill my youthful expectations; a most remarkable personality to overcome my natural antipathy to crowded subways. Father Johnson did both.

"Through the first week of Latin, Greek, and English I sat, a somewhat frightened youth, expecting a startling revelation of greatness. But it never came, at least not in the theatrical manner I expected it. We went right on translating as usual and composing verses each week. But before the year was finished, I realized we were accomplishing more than mere translation. Those kindly eyes, keen behind rimless glasses, were flitting from soul to soul, encouraging here, bridling there. A nervous student, stumbling through a recitation, would look up for an expected rebuke only to catch a smile stealing roguishly across his lips, —'What's the matter, John, did you catch your tongue on one of those dangling participles?'—his low voice would chuckle. This same low voice, punctuated with short, pronounced breaths, could cut the 'badness' out of a freshman heart—and did so when needed. But the salve of a mischievous sparkle of his eye, or a sudden compliment, was

always generously applied. With all the tempering that one who is neither man nor boy must be subject to, there wasn't one of us who ever doubted Father Johnson's fairness or felt misjudged. We marvelled at his learning and thanked God for his simplicity. We felt honored by the amount of time he must have devoted to correcting our assignments and accepted his criticism avidly. Thus we grew in wisdom and grace.

"Here was a teacher who was at all times a priest of God; an intellectual who could talk with a child. You could read the beauty of a poem on his face as he recited it aloud. The cadence became expression instead of sound. The classics became something living, something inspiring under his touch.

"This was the Father Johnson I knew, and the one I remember. If there is any appreciation of beauty in me, it was engendered by this saintly priest, whose life was beauty personified; this giant among intellectuals who used his strength to mold lives, instead of personal fame.

"Nor do I stand alone, for the young men who attended his classes with me, to a man, honored him with the rare tribute of thereafter measuring every teacher by comparison with him. Though we graduated to higher institutions of learning and got caught in the maelstrom of war, our enthusiasm for him never dimmed. That is a real test of greatness."

Similar high praise came from another former student, now a Jesuit priest: "One surprising feature of Father Johnson's rather limited fame is the universality of it. Certainly among the students of St. Peter's before me and among those who studied with me I can recall none who were even sparing in their praise of him. And it was a delight for me to return to the College in 1944 and hear him spoken of with the highest praise. In the Society I found a great bond with older members who lavished almost extravagant words on his talents and character. Of course, they were music to my ear. It was with mingled

awe and delight that we sat under him, for we had been propagandized early and late in his favor by his former students—both lay and clerical. Strangely enough, he more than lived up to his advance billing. In a somewhat lengthy experience with teachers, I can say that no one ran him even a close second.

"Looking back, I would say that his most noticeable talent lay in his control of the class. Not merely exterior deportment—our awe of him was enough to produce that—but more in that each student seemed to be anxious to receive knowledge from him. They were filled with the silence, not of inattention, but of receptiveness. I cannot recall even one instance of the teacher's routine classroom difficulties.

"What did he communicate to us? A great deal of knowledge and of wisdom; a love for poetry; at the least an admiration for the Latin and Greek classics; most vividly, a carefulness and a desire for accuracy and perfection in everything we did.

"To emphasize the need for care, he imposed a set of rules on us. For example: in Greek composition, he began by deducting half a point for every wrong accent. Later the toll was raised to two and then to five points. As a result, we worked hard to produce a perfect Greek paragraph, then spent extra hours hunting out the proclitic and enclitic, searching for long syllables and short, until the finished products were almost flawless.

"Two days each week brought Latin themes. You could hope for no higher than a seventy, if you were so careless as to begin a sentence with a post-positive, *enim, autem,* etc.

"In our efforts at poetry, a filler (the birds *do* sing, say) was sure to bring not only the ironic humor of the man, but a less-than-passing mark. Each day without fail he examined all of us on our assigned memory. Are these *trivia*? Perhaps, but the habits acquired were not.

"Friday afternoon brought us our greatest pleasure, Father Johnson reading our efforts at poetry from the

week before. He read all of them, in an ascending order of quality, but always without the name of the author. How we waited anxiously, dreading that ours would be read early; how proud we were when our poem came late or even last. To all of them he added, sometimes acrid comments, sometimes a touch of his own genius to give the poem a perfection you had not even suspected was there.

"I remember that his translations of Latin and Greek were brilliant and unusual. I have never been able to reach again the depth of feeling that swept through me as he translated the *Apology*; just as I have never been able to find in the poems he read all the beauty he discovered for us. In his appreciation of poetry I think he was limited by classical standards and the conventions of the past, but I have never heard anyone read poetry as well as he did. His rasping voice was a disadvantage, but it did not hinder him. In his reading was all the love of a lifetime of pleasurable experience with the poets. By it he was able to give us a desire to read poetry, if only to get even a fleeting glimpse of what had given him so much pleasure. Though he did not parade his own spirituality, we were all struck by it. He was truly a Christian humanist and he left us with a longing to be true Christians as well as true humanists. Some of his students were attracted by his example to become Jesuits; all his students were impelled to become faithful Christians. As far as I know all still are.

"The key to his successful teaching may be seen in his last days. He was dying of a painful illness when a young Jesuit visited him in the hospital. As he entered, the old man was reading a book. They talked for a while, then the visitor asked: 'What are you reading?' 'Nothing much,' said Father Johnson with obvious reluctance. When his visitor persisted, he finally showed him one of the Greek classics, and said: 'They've given me so much pleasure during my life, I wanted to go through them once more before I died.' "

The final remembrance is from the pen of Father

Robert I. Gannon who was the first dean of the newly opened St. Peter's College when Father Johnson joined the faculty in 1931.

"The reborn St. Peter's College was still in its second infancy when the glorious news came that we were to welcome Father George Johnson to our midst. Influenced by subtle public relations, the people were already referring to our pioneers as the 'Million Dollar Faculty' and it wasn't too much of an exaggeration. The teachers at least were an unusually adequate group. But now we could justify the claim without the slightest mental reservation. The new professor of classics was one of a triumvirate famous in the Province. With Father Francis M. Connell and Father Francis P. Donnelly he represented an old school Jesuit tradition that had become a collector's item. Not only could he handle Latin, Greek, and English, but he had to a marked degree the three essentials of a great teacher: integrity, preparation, and personality. He had integrity—moral and intellectual. He was honest with himself, honest with his classes. The merest suspicion of fraud or tyranny sent him into a passion and how he could storm! He was prepared—remotely and proximately. His reading was wide and deep in Latin, Greek, and English but he checked, the night before, like a first year regent, and went into class with every idea at his fingertips. He had personality, plus. He scowled and barked and rasped in an unsuccessful attempt to hide a tenderness that was almost maternal. His softest spot—and that was pretty soft—was reserved for the underdog.

"I never met one of his students who did not love him before the end of the year, and that carried over into afterlife. The Scholastics who were teaching in New York during the early 'thirties used to rave to their classes and affectionately mimic Father Johnson's 'Young Man—!' with the result that we had the unique experience of registering applicants each September who admitted that they chose the

slums of Newark Avenue because George Johnson was there."

One of his former students at St. Peter's told the writer some years ago that at their class reunions, a frequent topic of conversation among the alumni was Father Johnson, and added in a halting way, "We all felt this way—that we would try to avoid doing anything wrong in life because of having come into contact with a man of such integrity."

The following incident is too significant of his spiritual life to let pass. Sometime before his death, Father Johnson had been aware of his increasing weakness, and after teaching class on the day the Christmas holidays began, went to the Dean of the College to say that he felt that he could not continue and that another teacher should be engaged for his classes in January. Later on the same day his brother Robert came from New York to see him and said: "I have seen the doctor." "Yes." "He says you are in advanced stages of cancer." "Yes, I know." "He says that you have about two weeks to live." "Yes, I know." After making preparations for his going to the hospital, his brother Robert asked him if he would like to arrange for a general confession. After a thoughtful pause, Father George answered, "No, I think my weekly confession will be sufficient." This simple answer may stand as a revelation of his inner life. It is what you read of in the lives of the saints.

M. J. FITZSIMONS, S.J.

COURTESY

If we cannot be heroic, we can at least be courteous; if we may not aspire to be saints, let us be content to be gentlemen. Every gentleman is by no means a saint, but every saint must first be a gentleman. To discipline the tongue is an essential of Christian perfection; without it sanctity is not possible; and it is also the first rule of courtesy.

MICHAEL KENT

PUBLICATIONS OF AMERICAN JESUITS IN 1950

GEORGE ZORN, S.J.

It is not easy to compile a complete and accurate record of the publications of Jesuit authors in eight provinces. The generous cooperation of the Fathers Provincial of the American Assistancy has made the task pleasant. The possibility remains that we may have overlooked some items, dissertations, brochures, pamphlets or books, that should have been included in this list. Our readers are requested to assist us in making the record complete if, perchance, we have omitted any titles. In the following list we have adopted the somewhat arbitrary division of titles under the two headings, Books, and Brochures.

BOOKS:

1) **Aspenleiter, Francis J.** (Mo.): *World History in Survey.* Chicago, Loyola University Press. $2.00. (High School Text Book)

2) **Bonn, John L.** (N.E.): *House on the Sands.* Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday. Pp. 310. $3.00. (Fiction)

3) **Boyton, Neil** (N.Y.): *Ex-cub Fitzie.* Milwaukee, Bruce. Pp. 206. $2.50. (Juvenile Fiction)

4) **Cody, Alexander** (Cal.): *A Memior: Richard A. Gleeson, S.J.* San Francisco University Press. Pp. 215. $3.00.

5) **Donovan, Joseph** (Ore.): *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade.* University of Pennsylvaina Press. Pp. 124. $2.50.

6) **Ellard, Gerald** (Mo.): *Christian Life and Worship.* Milwaukee, Bruce. Pp. 418. $4.50 (trade), $3.50 (text ed.), Fourth revised edition.

7) **Faherty, William B.** (Mo.): *The Destiny of Modern Woman.* Desclée de Brouwer et Cie.

8) **Fraunces, John M.** (Md.): *The Glorious Assumption of the Mother of God.* New York, Kenedy. Pp. 153. $2.25 (Translation from the French of Joseph Duhr, S.J.)

9) **Gallagher, Louis J.** (N.E.): *Episode on Beacon Hill.* Garden City, N.Y., Doubleday. Pp. 318. $3.00. (Fiction)

10) **Heenan, John J.** (Md.): *Jesus Christ: His Life, His Teaching and His Work.* Milwaukee, Bruce. 2 vol. $12.00. (Translation from the French of Ferdinand Prat.)

11) **Hogan, William T.** (N.Y.): *Productivity in the Steel Industry 1920-1946.* New York, Fordham U. Press (Declan X. McMullen Co.). $4.00.

12) **Kelley, William F.** (Mo.): *The In-Service Growth of the College Teacher.* Creighton University Press. Pp. 200. $2.00.

13) **Krenz, Leo M.** (Mo.): *Our Way to the Father. Meditations for each Day of the Year.* Milwaukee, Bruce. 4 vol. $15.00.

14) **La Farge, John** (N.Y.): *No Postponement.* New York, Longmans Green. Pp. 246. $3.00.

15) **Leahy, Charles E.** (Cal.): *Teen—A Book for Parents.* Milwaukee, Bruce. Pp. 116. $2.00.

16) **McNamee, Maurice B.** (Mo.): *Reading for Understanding.* Rinehart. Pp. 464. $2.50.

17) *Proceedings of the Workshop of College Teachers of Religion of the Maryland Province.* Washington, Georgetown University Press.

18) Mueller, John Baptist, S.J.: *Handbook of Ceremonies.* St. Louis, Herder. Pp. 460. $5.00 Fourteenth English edition, revised and edited by **Adam C. Ellis** (Mo.).

19) O'Finn, Thaddeus: *Happy Holiday!* Rinehart. Pp. 217. $2.50 (A Murder Mystery.) T. O'Finn is the pen name of **Joseph T. McGloin** (Mo.).

20) **Owen, Aloysius J.** (N.Y.): *Ignatius of Loyola.* Syracuse, Le Moyne College Press. Pp. 209. $4.50. (Translation from the Spanish of Pedro Leturia, S.J.)

21) **Renard, Henri** (Mo.): *Philosophy of God.* Milwaukee, Bruce. $2.75.

22) **Renard, Henri** (Mo.): *Philosophy of Morality.* Omaha, Creighton University Press. Planograph edition. $2.00.

23) **Ring, George C.** (Mo.): *Religons of the Far East.* Milwaukee, Bruce. Pp. 350. $6.00.

24) **Schmidt, Augustine C.** (Chi.): *Guidance.* Chicago, Loyola U. Press. Pp. 347. $1.92.

25) **Siwek, Paul** (Pol. Min.): *Une Stigmatisée de nos jours.* Paris, Lethielleux. Pp. 174. 325 fr.

26) **Siwek, Paul** (Pol. Min.): *Spinoza et le panthéisme religieux.* Westminster, Newman Press. Pp. 206. $3.00.

BOOKS ON WHICH OURS COLLABORATED

27) *Books for Catholic Colleges.* American Library Association. Pp. 57. $1.25. **Gilbert C. Peterson** (Mo.) was co-editor with Sister Melania Grace and Ambrose Burke.

28) Bryson, Lyman (ed.): *Perspective on a Troubled Decade: Science, Philosophy and Religion, 1939-1949.* New York, Harper. Pp. 901. $5.50. **John La Farge** (N.Y.) was a contributor to this volume.

29) **Facey, Paul W.** (N.E.) and Timasheff, Nicholas S.: *Sociology.* Milwaukee, Bruce.

30) **Friedl, John C.** (Mo.): Contributor to *Human Relations in Modern Business.* New York, Prentice-Hall. Pp. 55. $1.00.

31) Martin, David (ed.): *Catholic Library Practice.* Portland, Ore., U. of Portland Press. $3.75. **Harold Gardiner** (Md.) contributed section entitled, "Books and Reading in the Future of America."

32) Mihanovich, Clement S. and **Schuyler, Joseph B., S.J.** (N.Y.): *Current Social Problems.* Milwaukee, Bruce. Pp. 452. $3.50. Father Schuyler is the author of the chapters on unemployment and race.

33) O'Brien, John A. (ed.): *Where I Found Christ.* New York, Doubleday. $2.50. Contains the autobiographical sketch "Coming Home" by **Avery R. Dulles** (N.Y.).

34) Owens, Sister M. Lilliana, S.L.: *Jesuit Beginnings in New Mexico 1867-1882.* El Paso, Texas, Revista Catolica Press. Pp. 176. $2.00. **Gregory Goni** (N.O.) and **John M. Gonzalez,** (N.O.) collaborated on this book.

BROCHURES:

35) **Becker, Joseph M.** (Chi.): *Current Issues in Social Security.* N.Y.U. Press. Pp. 40.

36) **Burns, Robert** (Cal.): *A Jesuit in War Against the Northern Indians.* Reprint from the Records of the American Catholic Historical Society, Philadelphia. Pp. 45.

37) **Corrigan, John L.** (Ore.): *Management and Management's fluenced by Cultural Conditioning.* Peabody Museum.

38) **Ewing, J. Franklin** (N.Y.): *Hyperbrachycephaly as In-Right to Manage Industrial Relations: A Study in Difference.* Gettysburg, Pa., Times and News Publ. Co.

39) **Fitzgibbon, Gerald H.** (Mo.): *Religion and Medical Ethics in the Hospital School of Nursing.* St. Louis, Catholic Hospital Association.

40) **Fitzgibbon, Gerald H.** (Mo.): *Routine Spiritual Care for Laymen, Doctors and Nurses.* St. Louis, Catholic Hospital Association.

41) **Gallen, Joseph F.** (Md.): *Diocesan or Pontifical.* Woodstock Press (Mimeographed).

42) **Garesché, Edward F.** (Mo.): *Odes for Music.* Vista Maria Press. Pp. 64.

43) **Hartnett, Robert C.** (Chi): *Education for International Understanding.* New York, America Press. Pp. 48.

44) **Hartnett, Robert C.** (Chi.): *Federal Aid to Education.* New York, America Press. Pp. 48.
45) **Knoepfle, Rudolph J.** (Chi.): *Cicero's First Oration against Catiline* (With visible vocabulary, sense lines, basic thought lines.) Cleveland, by the author. Pp. 51.

The Following Publications are from St. Louis, The Queen's Work Press:

46) **Corcoran, Charles** (Mo.): *Thus Shall You Pray.* Pp. 32. 10c
47) **Diamond, Joseph A.** (Md.): *Please Lord . . . Don't Call Me.* Pp. 32. 10c
48) **Dowling, Edward** (Mo.): *Cana Catechism.* Pp. 32. 10c
49) **Dugan, John J.** (N.E.): *Catholic Prayers and Doctrine for Servicemen by an Army Chaplain.* Pp. 40. 10c
50) **Fitzgibbon, Gerald H.** (Mo.): *Spiritual First Aid Procedures for Laymen, Social Workers, Doctors, Nurses.*
51) **Heeg, Aloysius J.** (Chi.): *An Adult's Confession Book.* Pp. 24. 10c
52) *Preliminary Outline of Sodality Organization in Elementary Schools.* Pp. 44. 10c
53) **Le Buffe, Francis P.** (N.Y.): *Prayers for the Dying* (revised). Pp. 40. 10c
54) **Lord, Daniel A.** (Chi.): *The Christmas Face of God.* Pp. 24. 10c
55) *Here's How to Learn.* Pp. 32. 10c
56) *I Entered the Sem.* Pp. 24. 10c
57) *A Letter to a Friend not of my Faith.* Pp. 40. 10c
58) *M is for Marriage.* Pp. 40. 10c
59) *Oh! Not in my Pew.* Pp. 24. 5c
60) **McCluskey, Neil G.** (Ore.): *Federal Aid to Private Schools.* Pp. 40. 10c
61) *Your Church is "Undemocratic."* Pp. 16. 5c
62) **Sommer, Joseph A.** (Mo.): *Preliminary Outline of the High School Sodality.* Pp. 16. 10c
63) *Semester Outlines. New Series Nn. 1 and 2.* 10c each.
64) **Southard, Robert E.** (Mo.): *Our Comic Book Children.* Pp. 40. 10c
65) *Problems of Decency.* Pp. 40. 10c
66) **Stauder, Paul** (Mo.): *Mary at Nazareth and Other Verse.* Pp. 48. 25c
67) West Baden College Theologians' Sodality Council (Chi.): *A Program for the Freshman High School Probation Sodality.* Pp. 36. 25c
68) Xavier Society for the Blind: *The Ordinary of the Mass* (Braille). New York, Xavier Society for the Blind, Lending Library.

Books of Interest to Ours

AN ANGLICAN ON THE EXERCISES

The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola. *By W.H. Longridge.* Translation from the Spanish with commentary, and translation of the *Directorium in Exercitia.* New York, Morehouse-Gorham Co. Pp. xxxvi—351. $4.80.

Most Jesuit libraries have a dog-eared copy or two of this excellent book which has been out of print for many years. A previous review of the earlier edition appears in the WOODSTOCK LETTERS of February, 1920 (p. 113). The reissuance at this time of the third edition of 1930 (the year of Longridge's death) is most welcome.

William Hawks Longridge died at the mother house of the Cowley Fathers, Oxford, England, Dec. 29, 1931 at the age of 83. He spent many years in the United States, and both here and in England gave himself to retreat work. In addition to the present work, he brought out several other volumes on the Ignatian *Exercises,* including his *Retreats for Priests, A Month's Retreat,* and *Ignatian Retreats.* The Cowley Fathers to which he belonged was the first stable movement in the Church of England towards a common religious life with vows. This group was founded in 1865 at Cowley St. John, Oxford, England by Richard Meux Benson (died Jan. 1915), Charles Chapman Grafton, and Simeon Wilberforce O'Neill. In the summer each member of the community was to make a full four week retreat (afterward reduced to two) and at Christmas another retreat of one week. They are located in Boston, Canada, Japan, India, and South Africa. Present statistics on their numbers were not available.

Longridge's book does three things and does them very well. First it provides a literal translation from the Spanish Autograph of the text of the *Exercises.* Next it gives a fine commentary on the text itself, and finally furnishes a translation of the Directory.

First a few words on the translation which is a literal one and different in purpose from Father Puhl's recent version. "It would have been easy," observes Longridge (p.vii), "to give a more smooth and flowing English version by translating from the Vulgate, but this would have been, in many places, to paraphrase rather than to translate the original Spanish. It seemed best, therefore, in the case of a book where the language is so terse and full of meaning to keep as closely as possible to the actual words of the author, even at the risk of reproducing the harsh, and often ungrammatical character of his style.

Only so could the translation serve as a basis for the commentary which is intended to bring out and explain the meaning of the exact words in which he has expressed his thought." Longridge's choice of words is often felicitous. Thus in No. 142 (p. 103), the Two Standards, he translates, "consider the *harangue*, he (Satan) makes to them." Morris translates the Spanish *sermon* here as *address*, and Puhl does the same. In No. 157 (p. 114), the Three Classes, Longridge gives, "we desire, beg, and supplicate." Morris has "desire, petition, and beg." Puhl puts it "desire, beg, and plead."

In his commentary the author acknowledges his great indebtedness to the standard works of Roothaan, Gagliardi, de la Palma, Diertins, Nonell, and Hummelauer. Longridge's work is especially fine on the Principle and Foundation. He emphasizes the truths brought out with more precision and fuller development by Bouvier in his *Authentic Interpretation of the Principle and Foundation.* The P. and F. is not to be given in its entirety to all retreatants, says Longridge, for it postulates a generous disposition and ardent desire for perfection (p. 31). The rule on the right use of creatures is rightly termed a most exacting one and not to be given to all. Longridge throws into high relief the oft-neglected truth that the full scope and lofty perfection of the P. and F. must be sought by a careful study of the text itself, bearing in mind the kind of person for whom St. Ignatius primarily designed the *Exercises*, and not forgetting the consequences St. Ignatius deduces from the P. and F. The created things to which we should make ourselves indifferent are those that are "left to the liberty of our free will and not forbidden." We cannot as good Christians be indifferent to things which are of obligation and involve sin. Our indifference is to be to lawful things. Hence we start off right in the P. and F. with as highly perfect a resolution as to "desire and choose only that which leads us more directly to the end for which we were created." Longridge again and again ties in later passages with the P. and F. and shows their logical connection. He gives a lucid discussion of the *Sume et Suscipe.* His extended discussions on the early and key exercises are clear and penetrating. It is only on the later documents, such as the distribution of alms, scruples, discernment of spirits, and rules for thinking with the Church, that the Anglican author bogs down and makes few or jejune comments. But this is small criticism of an outstanding work which I would unhesitatingly say is the most satisfactory one volume work in English of and on the *Exercises.*

GEORGE ZORN, S.J.

A COMMENTARY ON THE EXERCISES

Comentario y Explanacion de los Ejercicios Espirituales de San Ignacio Loyola. *By Ignacio Casanovas, S.J.* Translated from the Catalan by Pedro N. Isla, S.J., and Manuel Quera, S.J. Barcelona, Editorial Balmes, 1945-48. Six vols. Pp. 390, 354, 231, 307, 272, 264.

This reviewer thought he knew something about the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius . . . Had he not been making his own retreats for over thirty years and giving retreats to others? Had he not tried to read and even to study at least the major publications on this subject in different languages? Yet, on becoming acquainted with the work of Father Casanovas and using it for his own retreat, he felt that now for the first time the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius were explained to him. This is not a collection of scholarly but theoretical discussions of disputed questions. Nor is it an arsenal of all sorts of learned quotations from St. Thomas and other Doctors of the Church, the Christian Fathers, and the liturgy. It is, however, a scholarly work by one of our best experts, containing only solid and sound doctrine. There is not an abundance of interesting thoughts but only a few. These are intensely realized, relished and savoured interiorly, and driven home with inescapable logic and psychology. There are no pieces of oratory which sometimes sail under the flag of St. Ignatius. There is no flowery literary style that fascinates by itself and thus diverts attention from the main issue of the *Exercises*. We have, instead, a plain and simple translation from the original Catalan in language that does not want to be admired but rather to disappear, just as does any retreat-master and the author of the *Exercises* himself, in order to leave the soul alone with its Creator. Much less do we find a repertoire of "bed-side stories" or examples, although, from his extensive knowledge of the history of the early Society, the author gives in two appendices to the second volume valuable information from the life of St. Ignatius and the vocation of Father Nadal, which serves to illustrate the practical application of the rules laid down for the Election.

While pointing out that it is in perfect harmony with the mind of St. Ignatius to insert other meditations on suitable subjects, as indicated by St. Ignatius, Father Casanovas develops only the ordinary meditations given by the author himself in the body of the *Exercises*. For the First Week, to mention an instance, we have only the meditations on the Threefold Sin, on Personal Sins, and on Hell. Since the direct purpose of any "repetition" is, according to St. Ignatius, to take up, develop and deepen the *personal* inspiration experienced by the in-

dividual in the course of the preceding exercises, it is evident that no book nor retreat-master can supply them. Father Casanovas gives, therefore, none of the customary "repetitions" which are in fact new meditations.

As Application of the Senses for the Second Week, the author had in his original Catalan edition simply taken over the famous text of Father Meschler *ad litteram*. This, as not written by Father Casanovas himself and to save space, has been omitted in the present Spanish edition. I regret it since it it renders the whole work incomplete in a way. If necessary, space could have been saved by omitting some of the extensive Scripture texts and some of the quotations from the *Exercises*, giving only the references. On the other hand, Father Casanovas gives, even on the Principle and Foundation, three application of the senses—not mentioned by St. Ignatius at all. As is to be expected with a subject of such an abstract nature these turn out to be rather meditations. (Cf. the *Official Directory*, chapter xiv, not chapter xxi, as stated in Vol. I, p. 182, note.)

It would exceed the space of this review to enumerate in detail the merits of this work. I wish to mention, however, the chapter on prayer in the first volume, which invites a comparison with Archbishop Goodier's excellent, yet unfinished, study on the same subject. Father Casanovas seems richer, not only in documentation, but also in practical hints and methods, while Goodier's language is almost inimitable in its noble simplicity and fragrance of genuine spiritual unction and deep devotion—the deeper the more it is hidden under an apparently quiet surface. Father Casanovas, too, shows much spiritual unction but of a different kind. He has less of that typical English or northern reserve, though, as a true son of St. Ignatius, he, too, is absolutely sober and averse to anything exaggerated or sensational. What makes his work particularly valuable, however, is something else. It could only be termed a sort of natural, not only national, affinity in temperament and character with the author of the *Exercises* which he reveals on every page. It is this deep psychological insight into the mind of St. Ignatius that pervades the whole of Father Casanovas' work from beginning to end and makes it so extremely valuable, even more than his thorough acquaintance with the early history of the Society or his own great practical experience.

Father Casanovas not only wrote a long chapter on "The Spiritual Exercises and Holiness," but practiced all this himself and even sealed it with his blood when, in 1936, he was murdered by the Communists under particularly revolting circumstances. It sounds almost like presentiment when he

speaks of the great terror which always accompanies the first outbursts of popular fury (Vol. V, p. 70); or of the strength and consolation of Christian martyrdom as a continuation and supplement of Christ's own passion (Ibid., p. 67).

Let us hope that there will soon be an English edition. To reduce the size and the price one might omit the extensive Scripture readings at the beginning of many meditations, giving only references instead. On the other hand an alphabetical index would greatly increase the usefulness of the book. Even so—we are under no illusion—the book will never become a "best-seller," not even among spiritual books, precisely because it contains the *Spiritual Exercises* in their integrity. According to St. Ignatius himself, these are only for *raris hominibus.*

BERNARD WELZEL, S. J.

OUR VOCATION

Our Happy Lot. *By Aurelio Espinosa Polit, S.J.* Translated by William J. Young, S.J. St. Louis, B. Herder Book Co. 1951. Pp. xi—245. $3.50.

This book is a series of conferences on the Jesuit vocation considered in the light of the Gospels and Epistles. Father Espinosa takes some aspect of the religious apostolic vocation and brings to bear on its elucidation all the relevant texts from our Lord's words and from St. Paul's letters. The Greek text is always the starting-point of the author's exegesis and reflections. Some of the topics treated are: predestination, love for souls, three sources of grace.

Although destined for Jesuits the book will be profitable to all who participate, in one way or another, in the apostolate. An excellent feature of the book is the brief summaries of each chapter arranged as points for meditation. These summaries make the book convenient both for spiritual reading and for prayer.

JAMES M. CARMODY, S.J.

A MEMOIR OF AN IRISH JESUIT

Father Michael Browne, S.J. *By Thomas Hurley, S.J.* Dublin, Clonmore and Reynolds, Ltd., 1949. Pp. 242. 12/6.

Father Michael Browne lived that sort of life which is surely a delight to God and the despair of a biographer. He did nothing but perform the ordinary ministries and say the

ordinary prayers of a Jesuit priest—with only this exception, that he worked and prayed as a saint would.

Father Browne was born in Limerick City in April of the year 1853, and was brought up there in a most Catholic atmosphere. A delicate constitution had at first barred his admission to the Society of Jesus, but after a visit to Lourdes, his health was restored, and he was received at the novitiate of the Irish Province at Milltown Park. While a novice, student, and regent he was looked on as a saint, though a rather distant one. From his ordination in 1890 until his death in 1933, he held many offices of responsibility in the Society, being Master of Novices during three separate periods, and Socius to the Provincial in the war years. However, Father Browne is remembered chiefly as a retreat-master and director of souls—indeed, the best known and most active in Ireland at that time.

All this might now be forgotten, were it not that this master of novices, confessor, and retreat-giver quite involuntarily convinced most people that he was a saint. Granting a certain stubbornness and an occasional outburst of temper, he was clearly a man of God who prayed always—a man of great austerity, of perfect observance, and the most tender and untiring charity.

As we learn in the preface, Father Browne destroyed all his private papers before his death: hence, a narrative of his spiritual development is not possible. What Father Hurley has done is to assemble the recollections of those who knew him, together with excerpts from his own correspondence, and form a memoir of Father Browne's life from these two chief sources. Perhaps, as the author says, the method has its drawbacks, but one must agree with him that under the circumstances it was the only one possible: and certainly Father Hurley has used it skillfully and honestly. In spite of the difficulties of telling it, Father Michael Browne's life story deserves to be remembered and reverenced by his fellow Jesuits.

J. A. Devereux, S.J.

WE'RE HAPPY YOU DID

I'd Gladly Go Back. *By Arthur R. McGratty, S.J.* Westminster Md., Newman Press, 1951. Pp. 205. $2.75.

One's first impulse might be to ask, "Couldn't the National Director of the Apostleship of Prayer have chosen a more important subject than the memoirs of his childhood for his authorial zeal?" It would be unfair to answer that question

without reading the book. Readers will answer it in the negative. Year after year the Holy Father has recommended to the Apostleship such intentions as, "A More Christian Spirit in Family Life," or, "More Zealous Parental Care for Christian Education." Father McGratty (New York Province) writes a charming eulogy of that Christian family life that is so dear to the heart of Christ's Vicar. The excellence of the book consists in its happy blend of gay narrative with serious reflection. There is no trace of egoism in these autobiographical pages. The McGratty saga is not important as history, it is a parable for our times. "My parents did their job. Like untold thousands of parents across the country, in each succeeding generation, they did their job well."

Arthur was the third child in a family of seven, six boys and a girl. The episodes of his childhood, which he relates with remarkably casual informality, are sufficiently amusing to hold the reader's attention and well chosen for the author's reflections. The main characters are Edward, Frank, Arthur and Gerald in the juvenile roles; the adult leads are Mother, Father and Sadie, "our nurse who helped my mother, as the years went by, with the growing crop of seven children." Helen, Charles and Donnie remain in the background. In the last (and best) chapter, however, it is Donnie, the baby who became a lieutenant in the Air Corps and died in the Aleutians, whose grave beside that of his mother symbolizes the one thing that out of a fading past survives and carries over into the present. That thing, the theme of Father McGratty's book, is the love that is the joyful life of the Christian family. Lay people will find this Catholic *Life With Father* fascinating. If there be some sedate critics who question the propriety of such a book, let them consider that this "going back" is a most salutary thing. Thoughtful readers of Father McGratty's book will find in it a valuable commentary on Christ's solemn warning: "Amen I say to you, unless you turn and become like little children, you will not enter into the kingdom of heaven."

JOHN J. NASH, S.J.

SUBLIME THOUGHTS SIMPLY EXPRESSED

Lift Up Your Hearts. *By Christopher Wilmot, S.J.* London, Burns Oates & Washbourne, Ltd., 1949. Pp. 182. 7/6.

This is a book of comfort for those in pain. The author is a kindly old English Jesuit, who has spent his long life ministering to his harassed countrymen, and has come to know, as only

priests know, how deeply they have sorrowed and how terribly long has been their suffering. For almost fifty years privation and pain have been their portion. Nor is the end in sight. The future is black with foreboding and the threat of even greater anguish in the years to come.

Father Wilmot's constant effort has been to console and strengthen his people. One by one he has taken their trials and anxieties and has taught them how to transform them into beatitudes. Constantly he has reminded them that this life is not their real life, that death is not the end, but only the beginning, and that once they have passed from the valley of tears, they will be welcomed by our Lord in the home He has prepared for those who love Him, in which there shall be no more separation or sorrow but only blessed security from every harm.

He himself has reached the advanced age of four-score years, and is drifting graciously into eternity; and like his Master he finds it hard to leave his flock. And so he has gathered together into a little volume some of the thoughts that have been the burden of his teaching, in the hope that they may live after him and still be a source of strength and consolation to his beloved people. The title of the book is well chosen, and those who read it will be amply repaid. Father Wilmot's thoughts are sublime with revealed truth, but they are expressed simply for simple hearts. They are steeped in the atmosphere of war, but they lead to the land of peace. They will be useful for laity and priest.

J. Harding Fisher, S.J.

THE KING'S PEERAGE

The Lives of the Saints. *By Omer Englebert.* Translated by Christopher and Anne Fremantle, New York, David McKay Company, Inc., 1951. Pp. xi—532. $5.00.

Abbé Englebert, a scholarly and polished writer, has compiled a very valuable and reliable reference book for us of the Church Militant. It might be called a "Who's Who in the Church Triumphant." In this book we may find twenty-three hundred biographical notices. Some, indeed, are very brief, a line or two, but many of them are quite comprehensive. The author has selected for the lengthier notices "those who left their mark on history, or under whose patronage men and women of today continue to be placed." The excellent arrangement according to their feasts in chronological order makes the book an excellent supplement to the Roman martyrology. The Abbé's preface to

the English edition is a charming essay on hagiography. In two masterly paragraphs he summarizes the common characteristics of the saints and the sane Christian attitude towards "the follies of the saints." The final section of the book is a nine-page list of saints specially invoked by particular classes or in particular difficulties. Religious and priests should not consider as esoteric the knowledge that Saint Michael is the patron of policemen and Saint Valentine the patron of engaged couples; or that Saint Lucy is invoked against eye diseases and Saint Mark against final impenitence. The alphabetical index, which is a great convenience for quick reference, covers twenty-four pages of double columns. This is a book with which we should all be familiar.

W. J. B.

MONTHLY RECOLLECTION FOR PRIESTS

Alter Christus: Meditations for Priests. *By F.X. L'Hoir, S.J.* Westminster, Md., Newman Press, 1950. Pp. 218. $2.50.

As the first Sunday of each month approaches, priests and seminarians throughout the world look for a touchstone which they can apply to test the breadth and depth of their lives in Christ. The diocesan priests of India found such a touchstone in the meditations which Father F.X. L'Hoir fashioned for them, chiefly from the encyclical of Pius XI, *Ad Catholici Sacerdotii.*

As a professor of ascetical and pastoral theology and spiritual director of young seminarians, Father L'Hoir was well fitted to instil in his readers a consciousness of the dignity and obligations of the priesthood. Beginning with a quotation from the encyclical, or occasionally from St. Paul, he would set out for his readers the advantages, necessity, and beauty of some sacerdotal virtue. Then he would append a brief series of practical applications, encouraging his readers to "reflect on themselves in order to draw some profit." And, invariably, he would lead his readers to the Sacred Heart, "that life-giving stream" which is the ultimate source of both priest and priesthood.

Seventy-two of these meditations, which appeared in the *Clergy Monthly* between 1940 and 1948, are now being published in book form. They are divided into six series of twelve meditations, corresponding to the twelve months of the year, and usually related to the liturgical season. The thoughts proposed were not intended by the author as a daily diet, and

consequently lose their effectiveness if taken as such. However, as a compact and solid directive for periodic examen of one's progress in sacerdotal holiness, they will be welcomed by anyone who desires to become an "Alter Christus."

DOMINIC W. MARUCA, S.J.

A NEW POINT BOOK

Meditations for Every Day. *By P. J. Sontag, S.J.* Milwaukee, Bruce, 1951. Two vols. Pp. xviii—476, lx-—466. $10.00.

In his letter *On Fostering the Interior Life,* Very Reverend Father General admitted that there is some truth in the complaint of many of Ours: "I find no good books for daily meditation." This new two-volume work of Father Sontag, a Jesuit working on the Patna Mission, should remove at least one common cause of complaint. For *Meditations for Every Day* is modern both in presentation and application, while many of the point books commonly used have been criticized precisely because they are "outdated."

The two volumes are designed to follow the liturgical year, the first volume covering the period from Advent to Trinity Sunday, the second from Trinity Sunday to Advent. Included are meditations on some of the better known saints such as Augustine and Theresa of Avila as well as a number of the Jesuit saints and blessed. But predominant is the call of Christ to labor "like Me, with Me!" For the entire work bespeaks a penetrating knowledge of the *Spiritual Exercises.* The theological and even philosophical nature of many of the meditations may give Father Sontag's book added grace for those in studies, while the review of many of the truths of the cathechism will be profitable for all.

The applications made are, as one might expect, chiefly of a social or missionary nature. There is a difficulty, however, since these applications are often directed to the laity; but in many cases they can easily be made to fit the life of the priest or religious. The meditations themselves are brief (about two or three pages), but provide ample material for our prayerful consideration. The style, except for the number of exclamations, characteristic perhaps of earlier manuals, is modern and interesting.

Meditations for Every Day, while by no means a panacea for our ills in so personal a matter as the preparation of points, has the real advantage of flavoring with modernity a solid

spiritual diet. Many of Ours should find it helpful in supplying material for a varied year of prayer.

ROBERT T. RUSH, S.J.

RICH SPIRITUAL SUBSTANCE

Meditations on the Prayers of the Mass. *By Francis P. LeBuffe, S.J.* St. Louis, the Queen's Work, 1948. Pp. 241. $3.00.

In a recent issue of the WOODSTOCK LETTERS we praised the book of meditations on the Mass of Fr. Desplanques, *Living the Mass* (Newman). We feel it is only fitting to call the attention of our readers to another excellent work along the same lines by one of our own American Jesuits. We are happy to give to Fr. LeBuffe's attractively presented meditations the same unqualified recommendation as to those of the French Jesuit. Fr. Desplanques' approach develops at greater length the general meaning of the Mass prayers and actions. Fr. LeBuffe sticks more closely to the actual words of each prayer, meditating on them phrase by phrase according to the second method of prayer of St. Ignatius. It is no small feat to handle successfully in this way all the prayers of the Mass, since, at first sight, many of them do not seem to lend themselves easily to it. Fr. LeBuffe succeeds with his habitual magic touch in drawing an unfailingly rich spiritual substance from them all. His book is a valuable addition to our devotional literature on the Mass.

W. NORRIS CLARKE, S.J.

CHRISTIAN FEMINISM

The Destiny of Modern Woman. *By William B. Faherty, S.J.* Westminster, The Newman Press, 1950. Pp. xvii—206. $3.00.

The so-called "progress of woman" in the last century has posed many practical problems for Catholic women and their directors. Father Faherty (Missouri Province) has studied the papal documents which consider these problems and furnish their Christian solutions. This book is not just another series of exhortations. It is the authentic teaching of the Church on a modern social question about which too many of us may think that the Church has no definite teaching. Father Faherty has accomplished a splendid task in compiling and commenting.

The authors in the truest sense are the last five Vicars of Christ, Leo, Benedict and the three whose name is Pius. This book is indispensable for those who wish to speak with Christian intelligence on the political, economic and social status of women, on the proper education and employment of women, on prostitution or "the emancipation of women." Take up the book and read it. The topic, its treatment and the compendious presentation merit highest recommendation.

W. J. B.

THESAURUS FOR TEACHERS

Guide To The Documents of Pius XII. *By Sister M. Claudia,* I.H.M. Westminster, The Newman Press, 1951. Pp. xxviii—229. $6.00.

Bibliographical works, as a rule, belong in reference libraries. This limitation to the field of research explains the fact that such works are usually expensive. Sister Claudia's most recent compilation, however, deserves wide circulation as a practical handbook for all who are engaged in the works of preaching or teaching. It is an indispensable aid for any one who desires to teach the papal syllabus intelligently. Sister Claudia's previous work, *A Guide to the Encyclicals of the Roman Pontiffs from Leo XIII to the Present Day,* was poorly published and remains too neglected. The present volume, which is a masterpiece of printing and arrangement, includes all the pronouncements of the Holy Father from his first message to the Catholic world, *Dum gravissimum,* on March 3, 1939, to his allocution to the Diplomatic Corps on December 28, 1949,—a total of 1,319 documents. There are sermons, homilies, official messages and allocutions in addition to the more widely-known encyclicals. Under each title Sister Claudia lists the type and date of the document, a very brief indication of its contents, sources in which the text may be found in various languages and, finally, commentaries. The book is divided into two parts. The first, "Guide to the Documents," is a fourteen page bibliography which lists works under the three headings, Collections, Commentaries and Theory. The second part is the listing of the documents in chronological order, year by year. An appendix lists the encyclicals on a single page. There is an excellent index of twenty-two pages, in which one can locate with dispatch subjects, titles and names. Though many of the documents do not have the formal solemnity of encyclicals, they are the words of Christ's Vicar. It is good for us to know

that he has spoken about such things as atomic energy and taxation, and to groups so divergent and specific as blood-donors and boy scouts. Sister Claudia and the Newman Press are to be congratulated—and thanked.

J.J.N., S.J.

MEET THE FATHERS

The Osterley Selection from the Latin Fathers. *By Joseph Crehan, S.J.* New York, Longmans, Green and Co., Inc., 1950. Pp. 109. $1.50.

This is a collection of forty-two brief passages from Tertullian to Bede. The selections were made by Father Joseph Crehan (English Province) and are used in a course at Campion House, Osterley, our school for "late vocations." Father Crehan's choice is excellent both for holding the interest of the student and for conveying a valid insight to the style of each author. More than one-third of the selected passages are from the writings of Saint Augustine. Saint Leo and Saint Jerome are honored by more than two selections. Each selection is introduced by a brief "setting" and followed by explanatory notes. Latin departments in colleges as well as in seminaries should take cognizance of this excellent instrument for introducing students to the Christian tradition of Latin culture.

W. J. B.

NEWMAN'S ACHIEVEMENT IN IRELAND

Newman's University: Idea and Reality. *By Fergal McGrath, S.J.* New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1951. Pp. 537. $7.00.

The story of Newman's pioneer work as first rector of the Catholic University of Ireland needed to be re-told in its entirety. It has generally been written off as a failure, best forgotten save as having felicitously provided the occasion for the composition of his justly famous *Idea of a University.* A reading of the *Idea* in the light of Ward's account of Newman's work in Ireland has sometimes created the impression that Newman's mind, keen and penetrating when it dealt with the abstract notion of what constituted a university, was overly sensitive and unequal to the task of handling concrete problems of practical administration. Fr. Fergal McGrath (Irish Prov-

ince), in what should prove to be a lasting contribution to Newman scholarship, adjusts the perspective by a fuller account of Newman's activities against the background of the educational, social and political problems of nineteenth century Ireland. The circumstances, purpose and interpretation of the Dublin *Discourses* receive a briefer, though no less competent, treatment.

Fr. McGrath criticizes Ward's account of Newman's "campaign" in Ireland because "it omits entirely the historical background which explains so many of the difficulties that dogged Newman's path, and it dwells at length on the issues in which his plans were frustrated, without a balancing emphasis on the great body of constructive work which he was able to carry through." The causes of Newman's failure are shown to have had deeper roots than his differences with Dr. Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin. The ravages of the famine in Ireland, the political situation which divided the bishops who had supreme authority over the University, the lack of secondary education, the failure to obtain a charter from the Government, were factors unconducive to a healthy growth of the nascent University. Yet Newman set up a fine medical school, built a University church, received approval in his selection of professors and kept the curriculum and scope of the University from being restricted to that of a college. Fr. McGrath's judgment on the evidence which he presents is that "whatever defects Newman had as an administrator were of minor import," and though "he failed immediately . . . there was an ultimate success to come as a fruit of his labours."

The author has been aided in his task by the good fortune of having uncovered a large amount of hitherto unpublished material, including several thousand letters, of which he makes judicious use. All this adds up to a work, based on careful and meticulous research, from which the reader may estimate for himself the character of Newman as revealed in his letters and in the objective light of the facts. This accords with the Cardinal's personal preference, expressed in a letter to his sister in 1863:

> It has ever been a hobby of mine, though perhaps it is a truism, not a hobby, that the true life of a man is in his letters. Not only for the interest of a biography, but for arriving at the inside of things, the publication of letters is the true method. Biographers varnish, they assign motives, they conjecture feelings, they interpret Lord Burleigh's nods, but contemporary letters are facts.

The general impression that emerges from this wealth of complex material is one of surprise at the measure of Newman's achievement despite the innumerable difficulties that attended his task.

Although the larger portion of this book will appeal primarily to scholars, the general reader who is interested in Newman's *Discourses* on the nature of a university will find a valuable orientation in Chapters V, VI and XI: "The Dublin Discourses," "The Idea of a University," and "The Soul of Education." In the last mentioned chapter the enquiry into the reasons for Newman's omission of the Fifth Discourse from editions subsequent to the first, is extended beyond the point reached by Mlle. Tardival who had already discussed the problem with considerable skill in her *Newman Éducateur*. It seems not unlikely, too, that adherents of Corcoran's theory (that in education Newman proposed a theory of absolute severance of the intellectual and the moral) will wish to modify and correct their position in the light of the contrary evidence presented in these chapters.

VINCENT BLEHL, S.J.

THE PROBLEM OF EVIL

The Philosophy of Evil. *By Paul Siwek, S.J.* New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1951. Pp. ix—226. $3.50.

The present volume is a presentation of the traditional Scholastic doctrine on the nature, origin and finality of evil in the world. Father Siwek, formerly professor of philosophy at the Gregorian University, and at present, Research Professor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of Fordham University, brings to his task a thorough knowledge of the Scholastic tradition, as well as a wide acquaintance with the history of this problem.

The book is divided into three sections. The first section deals with the nature of evil, and its significance in the various kingdoms of living beings, plants, animals and men. This section is largely a presentation of traditional Scholastic psychology on the three divisions of living beings.

The second section deals with the finality of evil. The chapter dealing with the finality of evil in the realm of man has a rather full, and, at times, moving, account of the good to which this evil can be put by man. The final section of the book is a treatment of two contrary positions on the problem of evil—pessimism and optimism.

The book will not offer much that is new to anyone who is familiar with traditional Scholastic doctrine on these questions. However, it will be of service to students, and possibly to educated converts, who are not acquainted with this tradition.

RALPH O. DATES, S.J.

MARIO IS MISTAKEN

Nothing Ever Happens To Me. *By Neil Boyton, S.J.* Milwaukee, Bruce, 1951. Pp. 141. $2.00.

Father Boyton's latest book is not his best. Although it starts like a home run, it curves foul. Twelve-year-old Mario DeFide shoots his friend, discovers a murder, is the victim of a burglar, and meets with an accident in the first nine chapters, but almost nothing happens in the last sixty pages.

Boys in grammar school will be thrilled at the pace of the early chapters when Father Boyton is at his best, writing exciting narrative. They will scarcely notice the poor dialogue. But whether the story will hold them till the end is questionable.

JOSEPH D. AYD, S.J.

Book Notes

Meditations on the Gospels. *By Bishop Ottokar Prohaszka.* New York. Macmillan. $5.50.

This is an omnibus volume containing more than three hundred meditation summaries from the pen of a modern Augustine. Otto Prohaszka, whom Father Martindale ranks with Newman, was a lecturer, preacher and seminary director. Consecrated by Pius X in 1905, he ruled the diocese of Székesfehérvár in Hungary until his death in 1927. When these meditations first appeared in English translation in the 'thirties they were hailed as rich and profound in thought, strong and original in presentation. They were not composed, however, as a planned book nor were they labored over so as to appeal to the casual reader. This is the "light book" of a brilliant bishop who spent two hours a day in mental prayer. These meditations must have had a great part in the spiritual formation of today's persecuted clergy of Hungary. What higher recommendation is possible?

The Spirit of Love. *By C. F. Kelley.* New York, Harper and Brothers. Pp. xii—287. $3.50.

For students of Saint Francis de Sales this commentary on his spiritual writings should be noted. The book is written by one who was led to the Church through those writings. Numerous quotations, a good index, notes and an up-to-date bibliography make the work valuable as a reference for materials concerning Salesian spirituality.—W. J. Fogelsanger, S.J.

A. M. D. G.

THE

WOODSTOCK LETTERS

A RECORD

OF CURRENT EVENTS AND HISTORICAL NOTES CONNECTED
WITH THE COLLEGES AND MISSIONS OF THE
SOCIETY OF JESUS

VOL. LXXX

WOODSTOCK COLLEGE

1951

FOR CIRCULATION AMONG OURS ONLY

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